THE KALINGA HERITAGE

Bijay Kumar Swain

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To my wife

Merry

and our daughters

Roma & Roopa

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I am greatly obliged to those authors and scholars whose publications gave me insight to appreciate the discipline called History. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Sila Tripati, Marine Archaeology Centre, National Institute of Oceanography, Dona Paula, Goa, who, virtually initiated and guided me to dive deep into the maritime history of Kalinga. He shared a lot many publications on the related topic and offered clarification on interpreting epigraphic evidences. My special thanks must go to Dr. Devashis Jena, for his continuous encouragement and making himself available for discussion as and when required. I must mention Sri Naba Kishor Dash and Sri Debasis Nayak, who ungrudgingly helped in some aspects of the manuscript.

I made it a point to visit the places I have written about. During my exploration of archaeological sites in Odisha, Java, Bali and Sri Lanka; my wife, Merry, untiringly assisted me in search of random scraps of evidences and study of the inscriptions. She deserves special appreciation.

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B. K. Swain

The Proem

I have been curious since my childhood to know more and more about the great nation called 'KALINGA', my ancestral native state. Somehow, the prevailing circumstances and the available options of employment landed me in the Forestry profession and I had very little scope of reading history and archaeology during my career. I could pursue my long cherished desire only after my retirement, that too at the age of 65.

Our tradition, ceremonies, social and family rituals had made us aware of Kalinga's ancient glory. As kids we used to hear of its maritime adventures, the *Khandyata Paikas* (warriors) fighting victorious wars, its territory extending from the Ganges to Godavari, the laudable role of its people in transforming Chandasoka to Dharmasoka, the distinctive style in art and the magnificent temple architecture; all of which keep the Kalinga alive in our heart.

The history of Kalinga goes back to the period of Aryan civilisation. The epics such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas have descriptions of Kalinga, its kings and the people. The Buddhist chronicles, Jataka stories and the Jain literature devote special chapters on Kalinga country. The edicts of Asoka the Great and the inscription of Emperor Kharabela attest to Kalinga's significant contribution to the recorded political history of India.

Unfortunately, the Indian history, documented by western scholars from the seventeenth century, misrepresented Kalinga, confined at that time to a small principality comprising present

day southern Odisha and north coastal Andhra Pradesh. The European historians were prejudiced to consider indigenous literatures such as Puranas, myths and popular rituals as sources of history. Rather, they preferred to advance speculative theories. Their ignorance of ancient Indian monarchy and place names led to catastrophic representation of Kalinga territory and its famed heritage sites. In such publications, therefore, we come across statements like Kalinga in south India, Kalinga is the Northern Circar, Cuttack in Bengal, Ganjam in Madras, so on and so forth. The identification of 'Centres of Excellence' of erstwhile Kalinga recorded in epigraphs and early Indian and international literatures was confused and still remains a matter of conjecture.

Of course, the political geography of Kalinga underwent changes and fragmentation in different periods of history. Its segments have been named since fourth century A.D. as Utkala, Odra, Tosali, Kongoda, Kosala and Kalinga Rastra. But some of the rulers of these kingdoms have claimed themselves as *Sakala-Kalinga-Adhipati* (The Lord of entire Kalinga) and *Tri-KIalinga-Adhipati* (The Lord of three Kalingas) signifying that all these segments were part of the greater Kalinga.

The integration of these divisions was initiated by Keshari dynasty in the eleventh century A.D. and completed by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva of Ganga dynasty in early twelfth century A.D. Ganga's Kalinga extended from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south, but was named as *Sakalotkala Samrajya* (All Utkala Empire). The Suryavamsi Gajapatis, succeeding the Ganga dynasty changed the name to "Odisha Rajya". In 1568 A.D. Odisha lost its independence. There was further disintegration inflicted by external forces. During British rule, Odisha was divided among Madras Presidency, Bengal Presidency and the Central Province. A portion of south Odisha with the name 'Kalinga Dandapata' was forming a part of the Madras Presidency.

The wax and wane of Kalinga and altered names of its segments might have caused the confusion in understanding the glorious nation and its celebrated sites. I ventured to revisit the historicity of Kalinga, especially considering the archaeological discoveries of recent years and the new publications that critically analyse the evidences of the past and the present.

My passion for finding the factuality of the lesser known chapters of Kalinga drove me to stir all the available sources with due credence to the legends, chronicles, epics, myths, folklore and popular traditions. I was engrossed in reading articles, books, searching websites, visiting archives and archaeological excavations, discussing with professional and amateur historians to sate my hunger for the details. My wife accompanied me to Java, Bali and Sri Lanka in search of the stones that speak of Kalinga. Each piece of monument and inscription in the remote archaeological sites of Odisha, Java, Bali and Sri Lanka was photographed to provide evidence for the issues discussed in the book.

This compilation, which has taken five years of study and search, is mostly composed of inferences arrived at by eminent historians, whom I have referred to. I remain immensely indebted to all of them.

My initial attempt was to understand KALINGA. In the process, lots of meaningful facts emerged. It was necessary to collate and construe the pieces of evidences and reconstruct some aspects of Kalinga heritage. There were also misconceptions, follies and speculations on certain issues which have been critically countered. At the age of seventy, I conclude with a call to the posterity to take it forward.

B. K. Swain

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1

In Search of Dosarene

It was around the third quarter of the first century A.D., when Egypt was under the suzerainty of the Roman Empire. The expanding Roman Empire had a sizable trade with India. Rome imported Indian herbs, spices, black pepper, long pepper, saffron, lac, Indian bdellium [*guggul*], gum-resin, Indian frankincense [*Salai gum*], aromatics, rice, clarified butter, sesame oil, cinnamon, Indian iron and steel, cane sugar, etc. Roman ladies had a fancy for Indian pearls, gems and ivory. Indigo was used as a colouring agent, while cotton, silk, muslin, hides and furs from India were preferred for dress material. India also exported ebony, rosewood, teakwood and sandalwood for fashioned furniture used by the Roman patrician society. A great demand arose on the part of the wealthy Romans for the luxuries of the East, which shocked the more sober-minded citizens of Rome. The trade surplus was heavily weighing in favour of India for which 'Pliny the Elder' had to put a word of caution against the serious drain of Roman wealth.

Gaius Plinius Secundus was a naturalist, author as well as the naval and army commander of the Roman Empire in the first century A.D. Since he and his nephew, sister's son had the same name he came to be known as "Pliny the Elder" and his nephew, "Pliny the Younger". He was a philosopher, a researcher and the author of "Naturalis Historia", an encyclopedia that purports to cover the entire field of ancient

knowledge. It encompasses the fields of botany, zoology, astronomy, geography, geology, mineralogy and continues to be one of the largest single works to have survived the Roman Empire. Being upset with the wasteful extravaganza of the richer class and their reckless expenditure on perfumes, unguents, and personal ornaments, he had made a moral judgment on the Roman patrician society which reads as follows:

> "India, China and the Arabian peninsula take one hundred million sesterces from our empire per annum at a conservative estimate: that is what our luxuries and women cost us. For what fraction of these imports is intended for sacrifices to the gods or the spirits of the dead?" – Pliny, Naturalis Historia 12.41.84.

Prior to the expansion of Roman Empire the merchandise from India was reaching the Roman consumers through the Arab traders. The overland route being long and hazardous, only a very small quantity of merchandise from India and China reached European markets through Persia and Asia Minor. The land route was also expensive for taxes levied by intermediary forces. The sea-borne commerce around the Persian Gulf and the east coast of Africa was virtually under the control of Arab traders. Due to logistic and navigational constraint, which was dependent on monsoon wind, the Indian merchants used to sail up to the Gulf of Aden, but the commerce within Red Sea was carried by the Arabs. The muslin and spices were received from Indian traders in the ports on either sides of Gulf of Aden and shipped through Red Sea. At times, Arab merchants used to send their vessels to ports of Gujarat and Malabar Coast to procure Indian goods. Their trading agents learnt African language and established marital relationship with the people of east coast of Africa to facilitate trading in prized commodities such as gold, ivory and ostrich feathers. The periodicity of the south western 'Monsoon' that was known to Indian and Arab

sailors was not known to Greek navigators till the beginning of the first century A.D. The Arab merchants were also secretive of the source and marts of Indian commodities.

The Roman annexation of Egypt and control over Mediterranean basin encouraged some of the Greek entrepreneurs to migrate and settle in the then vibrant port cities on Egyptian coast and conduct direct trade with India. Piracy was put down and trade-routes were made safe. However, the entry of Roman shipping into the Indian Ocean was only possible after the mid-first century A.D. when Greek sailors became acquainted with the Indian Monsoon. It was 'Hippalus, a venturesome navigator whose name deserved as much honor in Roman annals as that of Columbus in modern history, observed the periodic change of the Indian monsoon, and boldly setting sail at the proper season made a successful trading voyage and returned with a cargo of all those things for which Rome was paying so generously: gems and pearls, ebony and sandalwood, balms and spices, but especially pepper.' (87.p.06) Hippalos, 'by observing the bearings of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the direct course' to west-coast of India across the ocean. (71.p.138) The Greeks used to name the Indian Monsoon as 'Hippalus' in the honor of this adventurous mariner.

Following the discovery of Hippalus, the Greek merchants, in order to establish direct commercial contact, undertook trading expeditions to India. One such pioneer, whose identity is yet to be revealed to the world, with the curiosity to trace the new trade-route and trade centres of the valued commodities of India, steered his vessel into the waters of the great ocean. Starting from Egypt, he passed through the Red Sea up to Gulf of Aden and exploring the seaports of Eastern Africa, Arabia reached the Indus delta. From Indus, sailing along the west coast

and east coast of the Indian peninsula, he concluded his journey at the mouth of the Ganges. Throughout the course, he made an exhaustive survey of the international trade between the East and the West. 'Having made careful observations and inquiries regarding the navigation and commerce of these countries, he committed to writing, for the benefit of other merchants, the knowledge which he had thus acquired.' (71.p.02)

This plain and painstaking log, the earliest history of commerce, recorded by an anonymous sailor of the first century A. D., was salvaged at a later period and presented to the world with the title "*Periplus Maris Erythraei*" or the "*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*". It is the only record for centuries that speaks with authority on this trade in its entirety. 'Not Strabo or Pliny or Ptolemy, however great the store of knowledge they gathered together, can equal in human interest this unknown merchant who wrote merely of the things he dealt in and the people he met – those peoples of whom our civilization still knows so little and to whom it owes so much; who brought to the restless West the surplus from the ordered and industrious East, and in so doing ruled the waters of the "Erythraean Sea".' (87.p.07) 'Erythraean Sea, was the term applied by Greek and Roman geographers to the Indian Ocean, including its adjuncts, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.' (87.p.50)

The '*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*' is one of those human documents, like the journals of Marco Polo and Columbus and Vespucci which express not only individual enterprise, but the awakening of a whole race towards new fields of geographical discovery and commercial achievements. It marks the turning of the tide of commerce which had set in one direction, without interruption, from the dawn of history.' (87.p.03)

This invaluable document was preserved in the library of University of Heidelberg in the form of manuscript. The first printed text was made available in the sixteenth century though with errors. The translation by different scholars continued in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century. Each edition being enriched with new results of research brought in more clarity than the previous ones. J. W. McCrindle published the English translation of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* titled as "The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea" in 1879. Being an authority of ancient Indian history, his notes are valuable concerning the Indian names, places and commodities. The translation by Wilfred H. Schoff, 1912, provides an exhaustive annotation. In regards to Indian context, the views of McCrindle appear to be genuine.

The anonymous author was certainly a great sailor, who sincerely documented the details of the navigational route, the suitable period for sailing, the harbours and roadsteads where ships can anchor, the hinterland, the key emporiums, market-towns, the nature and temperament of local people, the commodities of export and import, the countries, its ruler and the capital. 'The entire work is not a mere compilation from the narratives or journals of other merchants and navigators. The style of writing indicates that the author had himself visited some of the seats of trade which he describes.' (71.p.04)

It seems that the author started his expedition from Berenice but his note begins with the description of the 'Myos-Hormos' (Mussel Harbor), the first Egyptian port on the Red Sea, that existed north-west of Berenice near the modern city of Quseer in Egypt. This was an important port and the point of departure for the seaports of East Africa, Arabia and India. He mentioned about his native town Berenice, one of the trans-shipping points of trade between India, Arabia, and Upper

Egypt. This city was founded by Ptolemy II (285 B.C.-246 B.C.), who named it after his mother, Berenice-I. Berenice stood upon a narrow rim of shore between the hills and the Red Sea and was quite famous and prosperous in antiquity. Beyond Berenice, he gives an account of the country, the people, the ports, market-towns and the commodities traded on the right side coast of Red Sea. From Gulf of Aden he proceeded along the east coast of Africa up to Rhapta, an ancient emporium on the coast of Tanzania. Further south on African coast, he has not explored and thus reverts to the port in the Gulf of Aquaba, at the northern tip of the Red Sea, then named as 'Petra'. He narrates the trading scenario along the left bank of Red Sea bordering Saudi Arabia up to the coast of Yemen. Mocha, the port city of Yemen on the Red Sea, which our author calls 'Muza', was then a renowned center of commerce. Many wealthy Arabian merchants and mariners had settled there who used to trade with the marts of west-coast of India. Their ships often called on the port at Barygaza, the modern Bharuch of Gujarat.

Continuing the coasting he arrives at Eudaemon Arabia, a maritime village near the modern Aden, having convenient anchorage and watering places. 'It was called Eudaimon (rich and prosperous), because in bygone days, when the merchants from India did not proceed to Egypt, and those from Egypt did not venture to cross over to the marts further east, but both came only as far as this city, it formed the common centre of their commerce.' (71.p.85) From there he sailed to the north and mentioned another important market-town, 'Cana', which may be somewhere near the present port of Al Mukalla of Yemen, which carried trade with ports across the ocean, with Bharuch (Barygaza) of Gujarat, Muziris of Malabar coast, marts on Indus delta, Gulf of Oman and neighbouing coast of Persia.

Proceeding further north, he records the ports and emporiums up to the Gulf of Oman and then moves eastwards to the mouth of Indus. There he tells of a territory established by Indo-Scythians that spread over parts of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and North-West India including Kabul, Taxila and Mathura. They were the Sakas coming from Central Asia in around 160 B.C. and in due course of time established independent kingdoms. This group was otherwise referred to as Northern-Satraps. The river Indus, which the Periplus names as 'Sinthus', the Latinized transliteration of the Sanskrit name 'Sindhu'; had a trading seaport at Barbaricum, where the ships anchored, but all their cargoes were carried by river to Minnagara, the capital of Indo-Scythian territory.

From Indus valley he moves down to south along the west coast of India. Making a note on Rann of Kutch, he sails across the Gulf of Kutch to Saurashtra, which he calls Surastrene. He describes Saurashtra as 'a region which produces abundantly corn and rice, the sesame oil, butter, muslins and the coarser fabrics which are manufactured from Indian cotton. It has also numerous herds of cattle.' (71.p.113) Around Gulf of Khambhat, he speaks of another Indo-Scythian territory comprising parts of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Malwa and Ajmer. The ruling dynasty was titled as Western Satraps with their capital also named as 'Minnagara'. Periplus records it as the 'kingdom of Nambanus', referring to the then Saka king Nahapana, a very powerful ruler of the Western Kshatrapa dynasty.

The mouth of Narmada with shoals and rocks was difficult to navigate. The native fishermen, engaged by the king, were stationed with well-manned long boats to pilot the vessels safely through the river to Barygaza. The author elaborates the commodities imported to and exported from Barygaza, the

modern Bharuch. He also mentions the cities in the hinterland supplying goods to Barygaza for export.

He calls the region south of Barygaza as Dachinabades, the Latinized name for Dakshinapatha (South India) and records a number of ports and emporiums along the coastline. The important market-towns before Kanyakumari were Tyndis, Muziris and Nelcynda controlled by Pandyans. The city of Muziris was at the height of prosperity and frequented by ships from Egypt. After the discovery of south-west Monsoon the Greek navigators preferred direct voyage from Cana and Eudaemon Arabia to Barygaza and Muziris.

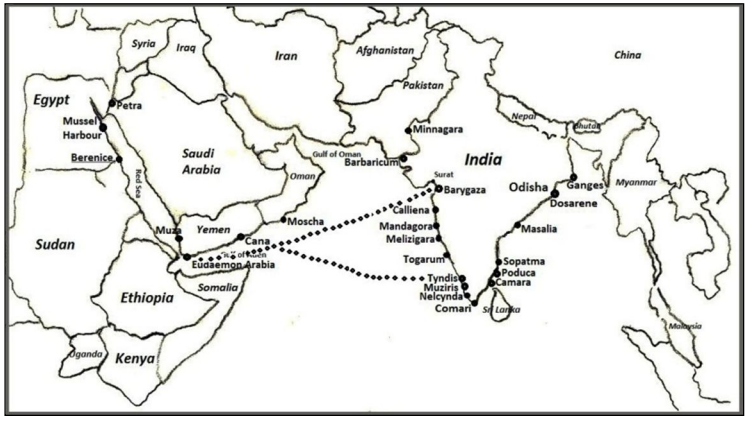


Fig.1.1 Routes of Periplus

Next to Kanyakumari, the author makes a note of pearl fishing at Gulf of Mannar and describes three important marts on Tamil Nadu coast namely Camara, Poduca, and Sopatma. Camara may be located somewhere on the mouth of river Kaveri. Poduca has been identified as Arikamedu in Puducherry and Sopatma, which is probably Su-Patana, meaning the 'fair-town', may be identified with the modern Chennai. (87.p.242)

He informs that apart from the native ships of Tamil country, very large vessels called *kolandiophonta*, which were employed for voyages to South-East Asia, the Chryse (golden islands), used to call on these ports. (71.p.142) *Kolandiophonta* is supposed to be the corruption of Odra Prakrit word *kolantarapota* meaning the "ships going to foreign shores".

In paragraph 61, the Periplus described Sri Lanka, which is designated Palaesimundu, with the remark that its former name was Taprobane. This is the Greek transliteration of Tamraparni, the ancient name of Sri Lanka. According to Lankan chronicle Mahavamsa, the legendary first king Vijaya coming from Sinhapura of Kalinga, named the region as Tamraparni, which was afterwards extended to the whole island. 'This country produces pearls, precious stones, muslins and tortoise-shell.' (71.p.144)

DOSARENE

The paragraphs 62 and 63 of *Periplus Maris Erythraei* describe the important marts of east-coast of India above Tamil Nadu which read as under:

> About these places is the region of Masalia stretching a great way along the coast before the inland country; a great quantity of muslins is made there. Beyond this region, sailing towards the east and crossing the adjacent bay, there is the region of Dosarene, yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic." 'After these, the course turns towards the east again, and sailing with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land toward the east, Chryse. There is a river near it called the Ganges, and it rises and falls in the same way as the Nile. On its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river, Ganges. Through this place are brought malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls, and muslins of the finest sorts, which are called Gangetic. (87.p.47)

Masalia has been identified with Machilipatnam of Andhra Pradesh. Ptolemy in the second century A.D. records it as Maisolia on the mouth of the River Maisolos. (74.p.66) For Dosarene, McCrindle refers to the river 'Dosaron' of Ptolemy and identify it with river Brahmani of Odisha. (71.p.145) Schoff considers it for Sanskrit Dasarna, the modern Odisha – the "Holy Land of India". He identifies the river 'Dosaron' of Ptolemy as the Mahanadi of Odisha. (87.p.253)

Fig.1.2. Ports and Marts on the East Coast of India as Recorded in Periplus

The Paragraph 64 and 65 of Periplus discuss the products of China and the ancient silk-route. The great sailor concludes the 'first of its kind mariner's manual' in paragraph 66 with the following words:

> All the regions beyond this are unexplored, being difficult of access by reason of the extreme rigour of the climate and the severe frosts, or perhaps because such is the will of the divine power.

DOSARON, DASARNA AND DOSARA

Though both McCrindle and Schoff have identified 'Dosarene of Periplus' with the coastal region of Odisha, but the folly of equating it with 'Dasarna' had encouraged some scholars to place it in central India and other parts of country. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* at paragraph 62 records the region 'Dosarene' on the east coast of India between Machilipatnam and the Ganges. This was the position during the first century A.D. In the next century Ptolemy mentions the 'mouth of Dosaron' between Mahanadi and Ganges. 'Dasarna' is the name of a kingdom reported in some of the Indian epics. 'Dosara' has been considered by the philologists to be the indigenous Prakrit name for Latinized Dosaron and Dosarene.

Dr. Jean Philippe Vogel, a celebrated scholar of Sanskrit and Indian antiquities, who served the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) from the beginning of the twentieth century and officiated as the Director General, ASI from 1910 to 1912, has disapproved the derivation of 'Dosarene' from 'Dasarna'. In his publication *Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nagarjunikonda*', *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume-XX, 1929-30: 1-36; he has made an etymological analysis of the name 'Dosarene'. Referring to the interpretation of Wilfred H. Schoff, 1912, he has opined that "The name Dosarene is usually explained to be the Greek rendering of Sanskrit 'Dasarna', but there are serious difficulties in the way of this identification. First of all, a Prakrit form of Dasarna, from which the Greek form must be derived, would certainly not have retained the "r" which we find in Dosara and Dosarene. The "long o-vowel" of the Greek would also be difficult to account for. Besides, the tribe of the Dasarna, as far as we can make out from Indian sources, appears to have been settled in Central India and not along the coast. On the other hand, Dosara may have been a dialectic form of

Tosala. To emphasize that Dosarene and Dosara are located in Odisha, he further adds 'Dosarene yielded the ivory known as Dosarenic. Hiuen Tsiang in his account of Kalinga says that it produced the great tawny wild elephant which was much prized by neighbouring provinces.' (32.XX.p.08)

The author of the Periplus was an Egyptian Greek, a Roman subject. According to Schoff, 1912, he was not a highly educated man as is evident from his frequent confusion of Greek and Latin words and his clumsy and sometimes ungrammatical constructions (87.p.16) However; he has tried to translate the Indian place names to his own dialect *viz*: Sinthos for river Sindhu, Surastrene for Saurashtra, Dakhinabades for Dakshinapath and Dosarene for Dosara. William Woodthorpe Tarn, 2010, is of the opinion that the author of the Periplus had a notion that in Asia a great many names of districts ended in –*nvn*, and he just coined Dosarene from Dosara. (20.p.443) People in coastal Odisha usually suffix a nasal sound "n" to verbs and nouns in their vocabulary. The Prakrit name 'Dosara' might have been spoken with a suffix "n" and the local dialect resulted in formation of the name "Dosarene".

Inspite of such explicit statement made by Dr. Vogel and other scholars, people didn't shrink from linking Dosarene with Dasarna, even at the cost of anomalous and misleading historiography. The country called Dasarna, mentioned in Ramayana and Mahabharata, has been identified with East Malwa and the adjoining regions with its capital at Vidisa (modern Basnagar near Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh). (24.p.134) During the period of Periplus, Malwa, Gujarat and Maharashtra were a part of Indo-Scythian territory. Schoff, 1912, who connected Dosarene to Sanskrit Dasarna, himself writes that after 'the Maurya empire had broken up, [in the second century B.C.] and in the anarchy following the disruptions in the

northwest, its western provinces of Saurashtra and Malwa had been raided by Saka freebooters, who finally established themselves in power as the "Western Satraps," or Kshatrapa dynasty. This territory continued to be in Saka hands until about the fifth century A. D., when it reverted to the Gupta Empire. (87.p.188) Malwa in the first century A.D. being a part of the Western Satraps territory was connected to the emporium at Barygaza, the modern Bharuch, on the west coast of India. It would be a fallacy to identify Malwa, the ancient Dasarna country, with Dosarene and/or Dosaron, the emporium and river mouth that have been recorded on the east coast of India by Periplus and Ptolemy.

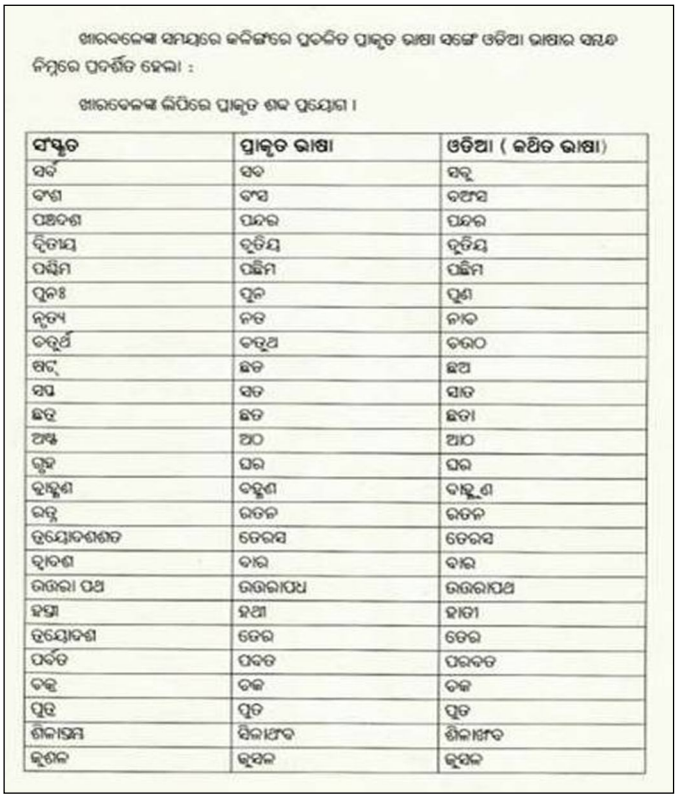
Dr. Vogel proposes to 'connect the name Tosali with Dosara and Dosarene. (32.XX.p.08) Subodh Kapoor, 2002, in *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Indian Geography* mentions the view of some Indian scholars suggesting Dosara as a modification of the Indian name Tosala (the same as Tosali) identified with modern Dhauli. (75.p.250) Tosala or Tosali formed an important political unit in ancient and mediaeval Odisha. Its earliest reference is made in the Parisistha of *Atharvaveda* in which Kosalas and Tosalas are placed with the people of south-eastern coast. (94.p.20) The name 'Tosali' appears in the major rock edict of Asoka at Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar. Asoka had two rock inscriptions in Odisha; the second one preserved at Jaugada in Ganjam district. These edicts are called 'special Kalinga edicts', issued solely for the people of Odisha and are not found elsewhere. In both these edicts Asoka issued royal orders for high officials in charge of administration to provide all kinds of welfare and happiness, in this world and in the next, to the people, whom he considered as his children. At Dhauli, orders were addressed to the *Mahamata* of *Tosaliyam* and at Jaugada to *Mahamata of Samapayam*. It indicates that after the

invasion of Kalinga in 260 (261) B.C., the annexed territory was divided by Asoka into two, the northern part named Tosali and the southern as Samapa. Some scholars interpret *Tosaliyam* in the edict as the capital city where the officers were stationed and identify it with modern Dhauli. Sylvain Levi, 1929, suggests that 'the name of Tosali must have been applied to a region'. (95.p.64) He makes a reference to Bhaumakara dynasty that ruled major parts of Odisha from mid-eighth century till third quarter of the tenth century A.D. and named their kingdom as Uttara-Tosali (Northern Tosali) and Dakshina-Tosali (Southern Tosali), Mahanadi being the dividing line. The Gandavyuha describes a country named Amita-Tosala with its city called Tosala. (95.p.70) The region of 'Dosarene' mentioned in Periplus can be flagged with the kingdom of Tosali, the *Tosaliyam* of the Asokan edict at Dhauli.

A reading of the established language of Odisha in the early years of Christian era would explicate the proper identity of the second century 'Dosara'. We are fortunate to inherit archaeological evidence of our language from the pre-Christian era written on the rocks of Hathigumpha, in Udayagiri hillock of Bhubaneswar, during the reign of Emperor Mahameghavahana Aira Kharabela in the first century B.C. Padmashree Dr. Satyanarayana Rajguru, 1985, names it as "Odra Prakrit", an ancient Indo-Aryan language. (68.p.44) L.S.S O' Malley, 1933, opines that "Oriya (Odia) is an older stage of grammatical development than even classical Sanskrit, and, among Indo-Aryan languages, can only be compared with the ancient Sanskrit spoken in the Vedic times. 'According to James Prinsep, 1837, Prakrit language was the precursor to Pali and Sanskrit.' (11.p.61) F. E. Pargiter, 1913, observes that most of the earlier Puranas, particularly, the Matsya, Vayu, and Brahmanda were originally written in Prakrit, or, more

accurately, 'a Sanskritized version of older Prakrit slokas.' (25.p.X)

Dr. Rajguru presents a comparison of Prakrit language of Kharabela's Kalinga with the Sanskrit and the present day spoken Odia; which is reproduced below: (68.p.166)



ଖାରବେଳଙ୍କ ସମୟରେ କଳିଙ୍ଗରେ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ପ୍ରାକୃତ ଭାଷା ସଙ୍ଗେ ଓଡିଆ ଭାଷାର ସମ୍ପର୍କ ନିମ୍ନରେ ପ୍ରଦର୍ଶିତ ହେଲା :

ଖାରବେଳଙ୍କ ଲିପିରେ ପ୍ରାକୃତ ଶବ୍ଦ ପ୍ରୟୋଗ ।

ସଂସ୍କୃତ	ପ୍ରାକୃତ ଭାଷା	ଓଡିଆ (ଲଳିତ ଭାଷା)
ସର୍ବ	ସବ	ସବୁ
ବଂଶ	ବଂସ	ବଂଶ
ପଞ୍ଚଦଶ	ପନ୍ଦର	ପନ୍ଦର
ଦ୍ୱିତୀୟ	ଦୁତିୟ	ଦୁତିୟ
ପଶ୍ଚିମ	ପଛିମ	ପଛିମ
ପୁନଃ	ପୁଳ	ପୁଣ
ନୃତ୍ୟ	ନତ	ନାଚ
ଚତୁର୍ଥ	ଚତୁଥ	ଚଉଠ
ଷଟ୍	ଛଡ	ଛଅ
ସପ୍ତ	ସତ	ସାତ
ଛତ୍ର	ଛତ	ଛତା
ଅଷ୍ଟ	ଅଠ	ଆଠ
ଗୃହ	ଘର	ଘର
ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ	ବମ୍ହଣ	ବାହୁଣ
ଉତ୍ତର	ଉତର	ଉତର
ତ୍ରୟୋଦଶଶତ	ତେରସ	ତେରସ
ଦ୍ୱାଦଶ	ବାର	ବାର
ଉତ୍ତରା ପଥ	ଉତରାପଥ	ଉତରାପଥ
ହସ୍ତୀ	ହତି	ହାତୀ
ତ୍ରୟୋଦଶ	ତେର	ତେର
ପର୍ବତ	ପବତ	ପରବତ
ଦଳ	ଦଳ	ଦଳ
ପୂତ	ପୁତ	ପୁତ
ଶିଳାସ୍ତମ୍ଭ	ସିଲାଥଂଡ	ଶିଳାଖଣ୍ଡ
କୁଶଳ	କୁସଳ	କୁସଳ

We have another stone inscription of the third century A. D., discovered in Bhadrakali temple near Bhadrak, written in Odra Prakrit language. (32.XXIX.p.169) Both these epigraphic evidences endorse that the state language (*Raja Bhasa*) as well as spoken language of Odisha during early centuries of Christian era was Odra Prakrit.

"Dosara" of the second century A.D. should be considered as a word of Odra Prakrit and would mean "two water-bodies"; (*do* or *dui* for two and *sara* for water-body). This interpretation would clarify the confusion of identifying Dosara (Dosaron and Dosarene) as Brahmani by McCrindle (71.p.145) and Baitarani by Lassen. (73.p.92) In fact both Brahmani and Baitarani join together before meeting the sea and the confluence is a vast expanse of water body, looking like one river, justifying to be called as Dosara in the early Christian era.

Fig. 1.3. River Dhamra and the Confluence

Patnaik A. P., 2003, observes that "the mouth of 'Dosaron' probably pertained to the only mouth of two major rivers, namely the Brahmani and the Baitarani that join together giving an impression of one river." (28.p.145) According to him "Ptolemy has mentioned about the mouth of 'Dosaron', the river flowing on the land and the Periplus has described 'Dosarene' as an important region of the eastern coast, next to 'the region of Masalia' during the first century A.D. So the valley of 'Dosaron' of Ptolemy is the most likely the region of 'Dosarene'. As Ptolemy has taken both the rivers, Brahmani and Baitarani having one mouth, as one river, the land between these two rivers has the highest probability of being 'Dosarene' of the Periplus." (28.p.145, N.211)

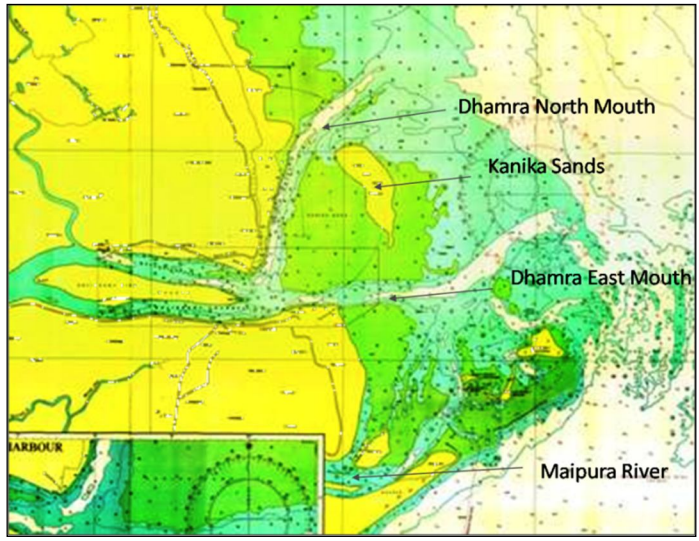


Fig.1.4. Two Mouths of Discharge

The most interesting phenomena these rivers exhibit is that they join to form a deep and wide watercourse, after flowing for

about six kilometers get separated by an island, but join again before meeting the sea. On the coastline they flow in two different directions, justifying their 'Dosara' origin before merging with the ocean. The present name of the river from the confluence upto the sea is *Dhamra*.

BAITARANI THE HARBOUR OF THE EPICS

The confluence of Brahmani and Baitarani with its depth, spread and tranquility might have provided suitable berthing facility from the days of hoary antiquity. In early period, the ships as well as other sea-going floating crafts were required to enter in some estuarine portion, where they can get appropriate tranquil and berthing facilities. (55.p.61) The great epic Mahabharata reveals that river Baitarani had one such harbour for sea going vessels. The Tirtha-Yatra Parva describes the story of Pandavas boarding a craft at Baitarani *tirtha* for their coastal cruise upto Mahendra Mountain. This is perhaps the first ever sea voyage reported in Indian epics.

The Pandava brothers, in their exile, were living in the woods of Kamyaka, the favourite haunt of Munis, on the bank of river Sarasvati. While lamenting for their bad luck in the forest, the grandsire Vyasa came to that spot to console and dispel their fear. Vyasa, foreseeing the consequences of the inevitable war, recommended the mighty-armed Arjuna to obtain celestial weapons from Indra, Rudra, Varuna, Kuvera, and Yama. Yudhishthira discussed the commands of Vyasa with Arjuna and informed him that all the Gods have imparted their might to Indra to empower him for fighting the demon Vritra. As all the celestial weapons were with the lord of the Gods, the illustrious Arjuna, proceeded to Indra's abode to master the skill of divine weapons. His departure from Kamyaka caused immense grief to the brothers and their consort Draupadi. In

this state of melancholy the wandering ascetic Narada appeared and advised Yudhishthira to visit places of pilgrimage that would dissipate their despondency. Both Narada and Dhaumya, the priest, listed the sacred places, asylums, holy waters and shrines to be visited and emphasized the merits of sojourn in these *tirthas*.

In the meantime Rishi Lomasa had been on a trip to Indraloka, where he saw Arjuna seated on the same seat with Indra. The lord of the celestials and Arjuna requested him to go down to earth and conduct Yudhishthira and his brothers to ascetic austerities.

Lord Indra said:

> Go thou at my request to the earth. Thou wilt behold the brave Yudhishthira living in the woods of Kamyaka. And for me tell thou the virtuous Yudhishthira of unbaffled prowess in battle, that he should not be anxious on account of Phalguna (Arjuna), for that hero will return to earth a thorough master of weapons, for without sanctified prowess of arms, and without skill in weapons, he would not be able to encounter Bhishma and Drona and others in battle. Thou wilt also represent unto Yudhishthira that the illustrious and mighty-armed Gudakesa (Arjuna), having obtained weapons, hath also mastered the science of celestial dancing and music both instrumental and vocal. And thou wilt also tell him, O king of men, O slayer of foes, thyself also, accompanied by all thy brothers, should see the various sacred shrines. For having bathed in different sacred waters, thou wilt be cleansed from thy sins, and the fever of thy heart will abate. And then thou wilt be able to enjoy thy kingdom, happy in the thought that thy sins have been washed off. And, O foremost of Brahmanas, endued with ascetic power, it behoveth thee also to protect Yudhishthira during his wandering over the earth. Fierce Rakshasas ever live in mountain fastnesses and rugged steppes. Protect thou the king from those cannibals. (50.p.106-7)

Lomasa had twice visited these *tirthas* and thus agreed to accompany, protect and guide the Pandava brothers in their

journey to the sacred places. On arrival of Lomasa in Kamyaka, Yudhishthira along with his brothers and Draupadi duly received him. They performed the usual propitiatory ceremonies to purify their heart and free their mind from all the evil thoughts. With the leadership of Lomasa and accompanied by priest Dhaumya and other ascetics residing with them in the woods, Pandava brothers set out on the pilgrimage.

Proceeding from place to place, they entered the Naimisha forests on the bank of river Gomati. Pandavas bathed in the sacred water of that transcendental river and offered oblations to Gods and the Pitris. Next they came to Prayaga, the sacrificial region of the Gods, and bathed in the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna. Residing in this *tirtha* for some time, they practiced ascetic penances of great merit. After visiting the *tirtha* called Brahmasara and the asylum of Rishi Agastya, they reached the sacred stream Bhagirathi, one of the head streams of the Ganges. Lomasa narrated the story how Ganga was brought down to earth by Bhagiratha, the descendant of the high-souled king Sagara of Ikshaku dynasty. From Gomukh they went at a slow pace to the other headstream of Ganga, the river Alakananda. Recounting the holiness of the Tirtha, Lomasa, the exalted ascetic spoke:

> O Bharata's son, still the Gods and saints have residence here; and their sacred fire is observed in the morning and in the evening. Here if one bathes, his sin is forthwith destroyed, O Kunti's son, O most praiseworthy of the race of Kuru, do thou, therefore, perform thy ablutions, together with thy younger brothers. Then after having washed thyself in the Nanda, thou wilt repair to the river Kausiki (Koshi), the spot where the most excellent and severest form of penances was practised by Viswamitra.' Then the king with his attendants, having washed his body there, proceeded to the river Kausiki (Koshi), which was pure and delightful and pleasant with cool water. (50.p.241)

Lomasa narrated the divinity of river Kausiki, showed the hermitage of Viswamitra and recounted the story of 'rain causing ascetic Rishyasringa'. He guided the Pandava brothers to the hermitage of Rishyasringa near a lake. Admiring the sacredness of the place, the Rishi advised them to perform their ablutions, purify and proceed to other holy spots.

The sons of Pandu started from the river Koshi and repaired in succession to all the sacred shrines. They came to the sea where the river Ganga falls into it; and there in the centre of five hundred rivers, performed the holy ceremony of a plunge. Then the valiant prince, accompanied by his brothers proceeded by the shore of the sea towards the land of Kalinga. (50.p.249)

Fig.1.5. Tirthas visited by Pandavas

On reaching the boarder of Kalinga, the accompanying Sage Lomasa introduced river Baitarani, narrated its divinity and advised Yudhishthira to take bath in the sacred water and offer oblations. The verses in Section 114 of Mahabharata Vana Parva describe the proceedings as under:

Lomasa uvācha:

ete kaliṅgāḥ kaunteya yatra vaitaraṇī nadī
yatrāyajata dharmo'pi devāñ śaraṇametya vai ॥ 4 ॥
ṛṣibhiḥ samupāyuktaṃ yajñiyaṃ giriśobhitam
uttaraṃ tīram etaddhi satataṃ dvija sevitam ॥ 5 ॥
samena deva yānena pathā svargam upeyusaḥ
atra vai ṛṣayo'nye'pi purā kratubhir ījire ॥ 6 ॥
imāṃ gāthām atra gāyan apaḥ spṛśati yo naraḥ
deva yānas tasya panthāś cakṣuś caiva prakāśate ॥ 12 ॥

Translation:

Lomasa said:

Behold! O son of Kunti, there's the land of Kalinga, through it passeth the river Baitarani. On the banks of this river even Dharma Deva [the Lord of Virtues] performed the religious rites, under the protection of the celestials. (4)

Verily, the northern bank [of Baitarani], beautified by hills, is inhabited by saints, suitable for the performance of Yajna and frequented by learned Brahmans. (5)

This spot (in holiness) rivals the path whereby a virtuous man, fit for going to heaven, repairs to the region inhabited by Gods. And verily at this spot in former times, other saints likewise worshipped the immortals by the performance of religious rites. (6) Whosoever performs his ablutions at this spot, beholds with his mortal eyes the path that leads to the region of the Gods. (12)

Realising the importance of the Tirtha, the Pandava brothers along with Draupadi descended to river Baitarani, and made libations to their forefathers. Yudhishthira taking a dip in the transcendental water, had the feel of sanctimonious ecstasy and he exclaimed,

O Lomasa, how great must be the force of a pious deed! Having taken my bath at this spot in a proper form, I seem to touch no more the region inhabited by mortal men! (14) O saint of a virtuous life, I am beholding all the regions. And this is the noise of the magnanimous dwellers of the wood, who are reciting their audible prayers.' (15)

After completion of the sacred ceremony at Baitarani Tirtha, the sage proposed a sea journey for the next destination Mahendragiri. Being in Kalinga, the nation of potent seafarers, the author of Mahabharata, perhaps intended to give an experience of coastal cruise to Yudhishthira and his team. Lomasa guided them to a dock on the river, which he calls a 'vedi'– an altar, and conducted the voyage in the following verses:

Lomasa uvācha:

saiṣā prakāśate rājan vedī saṃsthāna lakṣaṇā āruhyātra mahārāja vīryavān vai bhaviṣyasi ॥ 23 ॥

ahaṃ ca te svastyayanaṃ prayokṣye; yathā tvam enām adhirokṣyase'dya spṛṣṭā hi martyena tataḥ samudram; eṣā vedī praviśaty ājamīḍha ॥ 24 ॥

agnir mitro yonir āpo'tha devyo; viṣṇo retas tvam amṛtasya nābhiḥ evaṃ bruvan pāṇḍava satyavākyaṃ; vedīm imāṃ tvaṃ tarasādhiroha ॥ 25 ॥

Translation:

Lomasa said:

This, O king, is the spot which distinctly manifests the form of an altar. O great monarch, ascend over it, and thou wilt gain valour and strength. (23)

And, O king, while thou this day mountest upon it, I shall administer the ceremony for averting all evil from thee; for this altar here, as soon as it gets a mortal's touch, at once enters into the sea. (24)

'The God of fire, and the sun, and the organ of generation, and water, and Goddess and the seed of Vishnu, and the navel of nectar' O Pandava, thou must recite these words of truth, and while so reciting, thou must quickly ascend this altar. (25)

❖❖❖

Vaisampayana uvācha:

tataḥ kṛtasvastyayano mahātmā; yudhiṣṭhiraḥ sāgaragām agacchat kṛtvā ca tacchāsanam asya sarvaṃ; mahendram āsādya niśām uvāsa ॥ 26॥

Translation:

Vaisampayana said:

Then when the ceremony for averting evil had been completed on his behalf, the magnanimous Yudhishthira went into the sea, and having performed all that the saint had bidden, reached the Mahendragiri, and spent the night there. (26)

[Adapted from *The Mahabharata* of Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyasa, Translated into English prose from the original Sanskrit Text, by Pratap Chandra Roy, C. I. E., 1884, Vol. III, PP. 249-250]

The statement in verse 24, "a *vedi* that reaches the sea", is indicative of existence of a wharf for boarding the seagoing vessels. This legendary account of oceanic journey of Pandava brothers would substantiate that the mouth of Baitarani served as the maritime gateway of east-coast of India during Mahabharata period. The age of Mahabharata has been variously calculated by different scholars. The Institute of Scientific Research on Vedas (I-SERVE), New Delhi, in September, 2015 exhibited evidence that "Pandavas left for 13 years of exile after losing everything in a game of dice" in 3153 B.C. Subhash Kak, 2015 suggests that the Mahabharata War took place in 3137 BC. In any case it is more than 5000 years before our time and during that hoary past Odisha had the harbour facility at Baitarani mouth in north and near Mahendra in south.

Mahendra or Mahendragiri, a mountain of the Eastern Ghats, situated in Gajapati district of Odisha, has long been considered as a 'navigational landmark' of the east-coast of India. Chilika Lake and river Rushikulya in the neighbourhood of this mountain provided sheltered mooring facility. Palur, a village nearby has been identified with 'Paloura, a town' reported

by Ptolemy in the second century A.D., as the point of departure (*apheterion*), for ships bound for Khryse. The ships coming from ports and marts of Gangetic gulf and from Coromandel Coast used to follow the littoral route till this point from where those bound for South-East Asia struck off from the coast and enter the high seas. This navigational course continued to be followed till the 18th century as revealed from Dutch records.

Ramayana and Mahabharata admire this hill as one of the most sacred *tirthas*, inhabited by Rishis. The epics mention that Parsurama, the legendary figure of Hindu mythology, retired to this mountain after he was defeated by Ramachandra. It is also alluded to in the Ramayana that Hanuman leapt from the summit of this hill to Sri Lanka in search of Sita. The Sailodbhava and Ganga dynasties of later period adore the hill as their 'Kula Parbata'.

Reaching the Mahendra Mountain, Yudhishthira with his brothers, paid the highest honours to the religious men. Lomasa made him acquainted with the names of all of them, such as the Bhrigus, the Angiras, the Vasishthas, and the Kasyapas. And the royal saint paid visit to them all and made obeisance to them with joined palms. He enquired about Parasurama, and desired to have a sight of him when he will show himself to the religious men there. (50.p.251) On the fourteenth day of the moon, the mighty-souled Parasurama at the proper hour showed himself to those members of the priestly class and also to the virtuous king Yudhishthira and his younger brothers. The king, with his brothers, worshipped Parasurama and having received words of praise from him spent the night on the Mahendra hill, and then started on his journey towards the southern regions. (50.p.256) From Mahendra, the magnanimous monarch pursued

his journey to the Godavari, a river that falls directly into the sea.

KALINGA HAD EARLY VEDIC CIVILISATION

The verses of Vana Parva suggest that in proto-historic period, Kalinga had social conditions and religious traditions comparable to Vedic culture. The spiritual discourse between Rishi Lomasa and Yudhishthira indicates the prevailing religious customs of Kalinga during that period. Lomasa recounts that Dharma deva performed a Yajna to consecrate river Baitarani as a great tirtha. The hills to the north of the river were inhabited by saints and frequented by learned Brahmans for performing Yajna. In verse 15, Yudhishthira, in exalted ecstasy, declares the hearing of the hymns recited by the magnanimous dwellers of the distant woods. Performance of Yajna, chanting of hymns and observance of ascetic penances in forest hermitage were the fundamental religious practices of Vedic period. In verse 25 the sage advised Pandavas to appease Agni, Mitra and Vishnu, the main deities of the Vedic pantheon. This narrative of the epic manifests existence of an advanced Vedic civilisation in this region before the writing of Mahabharata.

Vedic civilisation of ancient India is attributed to the Aryans, who, till date, were supposed to have come from outside and invaded India. Recent archeological findings, geological study and scientific analysis of satellite imagery neither support the invasion theory nor substantiate large-scale migration or population replacement. According to modern historians, the Aryan invasion theory reflects a colonial and Euro-centric perspective that has lost its credibility. The literary, linguistic and anthropological evidences suggest the Vedic people as the original inhabitants of India who prospered along the river valleys and were sustained by settled agriculture.

Reference to river Sarasvati in *Rig Veda* has inspired the researchers to gather scientific evidence of a flourishing Aryan culture around this river. According to Manusmriti the first part of the *Rig Veda* originated during the period when Vedic people lived in Sarasvati delta. Scholars identify this Aryan civilisation with the Indus Valley or Harappan civilisation. This civilisation came to an end on drying up of river Sarasvati, most probably due to climate change, forcing the population to move out to Gangetic basins and other deltaic regions. Rig Veda also mentions the eastern and western oceans, implying the spread of Vedic people to riverine deltas of east and west coast.

Like the Gangetic basin, the deltaic alluvium of coastal Kalinga, was one of the favoured sites for settlement of the early inhabitants of India. The two volume publication, '*Archaeology of Orissa*' edited by Kishor K. Basa and Pradeep Mohanty, 2000, record the results of survey of prehistoric settlements at a number of sites in Odisha. Archaeological findings from Kuchai and Baidyanathpur of Mayurbhanja district, Sankerjang of Angul district, Darpan Khas of Jajpur district and Golabai Sasana of Khurda district provide ample evidence of a rich and advanced proto-historic culture of Kalinga that was not only comparable but competing with the emerging Aryan society of Gangetic region. The period of earliest level settlement at Golabai Sasana, determined by radioactive isotope (C_{14}), dates back to 2300 B.C.

Scholars presume that use of iron enabled the Vedic Aryans to reclaim forests in Gangetic basin for settled agriculture. In fact, Kalinga was one of the early centers of development of iron technology. The archaeological findings coupled with field observations suggest Kalinga people had mastered iron smelting and manufacturing iron artefacts from proto-historic period. The antiquity of iron in India has been

dated around 1000 B.C., but as a result of evidence from Golabai Sasan, this date for Odisha, may well be pushed back by at least another two centuries. The date of iron from Golabai Sasan, in Khurda district, may be the earliest evidence in India. (05.p.347)

Besides the archaeological substantiation, literary sources also advocate the existence of early Aryan civilisation in the river valleys of Odisha, particularly in the region of Dosarene. The vast alluvial coastal plain was suitable for settled agriculture while the hilly hinterland provided pasture for their cattle. Like Ganges in north, river Baitarani was sanctified with Vedic tradition for observance of rites and ceremonies. The serene surrounding was considered as abodes of Gods and Goddesses and befitting for practice of austerities. Indian epics declare the cultural and spiritual grandeur of Baitarani signifying that this region had acquired eminence as comparable to Aryan settlements elsewhere in India. Vayu Puran speaks very highly of the river Baitarani that flows in the Nabhigaya Ksetra (Jajpur) in order to liberate the ancestors from sins. Before offering *Pindas* (oblations) to ancestors, one must have a dip in the river and worship the great Sri Varaha, an incarnation of Lord Vishnu. Brahma Purana speaks of the Baitarani in high flown languages stating that people taking bath in the river get themselves liberated from all sorts of sins. (21.p.136) The sacred river is remembered and revered by Hindus at the time of observance of auspicious ceremonies. Epics cite for three Baitaranis. One is near the abode of Yama, the death God, with boiling water flowing in it and hence named as *Tapta* (hot) Baitarani. After death, the soul has to pass through this Baitarani to test the virtues (merit) and the vices (sin) depending on which it will proceed to either heaven or hell. The second has been described to be flowing on the foothills of Himalayas but is yet to be identified. The third is the river Baitarani of Odisha that has

been sanctified by Hindus since time immemorial. (85.p.191) Performing Yajna on the bank of this river, a tradition established by early Aryans, continued in later years. Mahasivagupta Yajati-II, the outstanding Somavamsi monarch of Odisha, performed Dasasvamedha yajna on the bank of Baitarani in mid-eleventh century A.D., bringing ten thousand Brahmins from Kanyakuvja. (89.p.169) The place of Yajna at Baitarani tirtha is esteemed as the Dasasvamedha ghat on the bank of Ganges at Varanasi. Like Ganges originating from 'Gomukh' of Himalayas, the cliff, from where Baitarani originates, has been named as 'Gonasika'. The important Hindu religious institutions that have been put in to practice at Varanasi, Allahabad and Gaya are also performed at Jajpur Viraja Ksetra on the bank of Baitarani. (85.p.191)

'The Adiparva of Mahabharata refers to matrimonial relations of the royal house of Kalinga with different Aryan royal families of northern India long before the time of Kurukshetra wars. The renowned king Akrodhana, the son of Ayutanayi and Kama married the Kalinga princess Karambha and their fourth descendant was king Matinara whom Saraswati (the river goddess) chose as her husband. The son of Matinara and Saraswati was named Tamsu who married a princess of Kalinga and begot a son called Ilina. The son of Ilina was the famous Paurava king Dushyanta, the father of Bharata after whom this country was named in subsequent time as Bharatavarsa. The Kurus and the Pandavas were the descendants of Bharata and according to Santi Parva, Duryodhana, the Kaurava Prince, married the daughter of Chitrangada, the king of Kalinga.' (89.p.35)]

The puranic references and cultural similes justify the development of a simultaneous, competitive and parallel Aryan civilisation in this region, like that of the Gangetic basin.

PORTS AND MARTS OF SECOND CENTURY

Periplus Maris Erythraei, the maritime record of first of its kind, narrates the trade route of the first century A.D. Greek navigators used to have frequent voyages to the west coast of India and thus the author of Periplus gives vivid description of goods, ports and marts of west coast as compared to the east coast of the Indian peninsula. Some details have been reported up to Chennai but beyond that, Periplus mentions only three emporiums, Machilipatnam (Masalia) at the mouth of river Krishna, Dosarene of Odisha and the Ganges. However, in the second century A.D., a more detailed account of river mouths, ports and market towns of the east coast was reported by the Greco-Egyptian scholar Claudius Ptolemy. From river Krishna, which he calls 'Maisoles, upto the mouths of Ganges, Ptolemy had recorded 26 such places in four sets as listed below:

15. Maisolia			
Mouth of the River Maisolos	134°	11°40'	
Kontakossyla, a mart	134° 30'	11° 40'	
Koddoura	135°	11° 30'	
Allosygne, a mart	135° 40'	11° 20'	
The point of departure (*apheterion*) for ships bound for Khryse	136° 20'	11°	
			(74.p.66)
16. In the Gangetic Gulf			
Paloura or Pakoura, a town	136° 40'	11° 20'	
Nanigaina	136° 20'	12°	
Katikardama	136° 20'	12° 40'	
Kannagara	136° 30'	13° 30'	
Mouth of the River Manada	137°	14°	
Kottobara	137° 15'	14° 40'	
Sippara	137° 40'	15° 30'	
Mouth of the River Tyndis	l38° 30'	16°	
			(74.p.69)

17. Mapoura	139°	16° 30’
Minnagara	140°	17° 15’
Mouth of the Dosaron	141°	17° 40’
Kokala	142°	18°
Mouth of the River Adamas	l42° 40’	18°
Kosamba or Kosaba	143° 30’	18° 15’

(74.p.70)

18. Mouths of the Ganges		
The Kambyson mouth, the most western	144° 30’	18° 15’
Poloura, a town	145°	18° 30
The second mouth, called Mega	145° 45’	18° 30’
The third called Kamberikhon	146°30’	18° 40’
Tilogrammon, a town	147° 20’	18°
The fourth mouth, Pseudostomon	147° 40’	18° 30’
The fifth mouth, Antibole...	148° 30’	18° 15’

(74.p.73)

Fig.1.6. Map of Ptolemy

Though Ptolemy was not a sailor like the author of the periplus, who had first-hand knowledge of India, he was one of the greatest geographers of his time. Learning from the work of Marinos of Tyre about the details of position of different countries, their coast lines, ports, harbours, marts and important places, he had composed his geography and drawn a map of the world. (28.p.133)

Following Marinos, Ptolemy assigned coordinates to all the places and geographic features he knew, in a grid that spanned the globe. But owing to the paucity and imperfection of the astronomical observations, his coordinates of places do not tally with the modern geographical positioning. Though his description of the eastern coast of India is scientific and informative in nature, his placements of different ports, marts and rivers on the coast with their specific measurements do not fit in with the actual location of place, mainly because of his defective map of India, which did not have almost the whole of Deccan. (28.p.148) Over the centuries, the geological processes have brought-in wide-ranging indiscernible changes in coastal geomorphology along with alteration of river courses. However, some of the names have distant resemblance to the indigenous names. Philologists have made persistent efforts to penetrate the disguise which conceals the original forms of the names so much distorted by Ptolemy, and have succeeded in establishing a great number of satisfactory identifications. (74.p.IV) Ptolemy's sequence of place-names on the coast gives a fair idea about the position of different ports, harbours, marts and rivers of the country of that period. (28.p.133) Recent archaeological explorations have helped a great deal in determining the present position of some of these places.

The places named in set 15 above are in the coastal region of Andhra Pradesh. Maisolia, which Periplus named Masalia, has

been identified with Machhlipatam. Kontakossyla, a mart, is placed inland in the Krishna district, in the neighbourhood of Kondapalli. Allosygne may perhaps be now represented by Coringa or Korangi of the East Godavari district situated a little beyond Point Godavari. (74.p.68) The 'navigational landmark', mount Mahendra has been generally accepted as 'the point of departure' (*apheterion*) on the east coast.

The places listed in set 16 and 17 are located along the Odisha coast. Paloura survived till modern times as Palur, a village in Ganjam district at the foothills of mountain Mahendra. Nanigaina may perhaps be placed at Puri, Katikardama, to be identified with Cuttack (Kataka) and Kannagara is the Konark of modern times. (74.p.70) This suggestion of earlier scholars is still cited by some authors. Patnaik, A. P. differs from this identification and proposes Kakatpur on the bank of river Prachi and Nagar on river Devi in Puri district to represent Katikardama and Kannagar respectively. Recent archaeological investigations have yielded evidences that Manikapatna, situated south of Puri near the mouth of Chilika Lake, had prospered as a centre of maritime commerce from the early centuries of Christian era. Excavation at Khalkatapatna, on the mouth of Kushabhadra, near Konark has substantiated existence of a flourishing port from the early historic period. Legends and epics also speak of existence of riverine ports near Puri and Konark. According to ancient scriptures, the original images of Lord Jagannatha, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarshan were carved by the celestial architect, Vishwakarma from a radiant log of wood that came floating in the sea to the river mouth near Puri. The legendary king Indradyumna brought stones from Vindhya Mountains in boats and chariots to build the temple. The Sun temple at Konark was originally built at the mouth of the river Chandrabhaga, but the

coastline has receded since then. The gigantic stones used in construction of the temple at Puri in 12th century A.D. and at Konark in the thirteenth century A.D., must have been transported through waterways, justifying existence of ports nearby.

Two river mouths have been recorded in set 16; mouth of river 'Manada' is well taken for Mahanadi, the longest river of Odisha, and river 'Tyndis' to be a major distributary of that river. 'Kottobara' and 'Sippara' may be two important second century towns in the fertile delta of Mahanadi.

Set 17 begins with 'Mapoura', which may be the name of a place or locality. Though earlier scholars have not made much headway to identify 'Mapoura', Patnaik, A. P., 2003 has succeeded in establishing satisfactory identification by locating it in the swamps that surround Maipura River. (28.p.143) Bifurcating from Brahmani, Maipura flows into the sea near the Gahirmatha beach, best known as the nesting ground of Olive Ridley turtle. During the medieval period (late fifteenth – seventeenth century) the promontory south of Dhamra was known as 'Point Palmiras', one of the most important navigational landmarks of the time.

The next in the list is "Minnagara", a place name having tremendous historical significance for Odisha but has not been critically studied with expected insight by our historians so far. We will discuss it separately. Regarding 'Mouth of the Dosaron', we have analysed at length and concluded it to be the modern Dhamra. The other places mentioned in set 17 are north of Dhamra mouth and they may be identified with the ports and marts that might have existed on the mouths of river Gummei, Kansbans, Budhabalanga and Subarnarekha.

Set 18 records five mouths of Ganga and the towns in their deltaic region.

MINNAGARA, THE CAPITAL CITY

Ptolemy reported Minnagara after Mapoura (Maipura) and before the mouth of Dosaron, the confluence of Brahmani and Baitarani. Yule identified it with the present town of Jajpur on the bank of Baitarani and McCrindle with Mungrapur (Mangalpur) situated at some distance from Jajpur. (74.p.72)

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* mentions Minnagara in two paragraphs, 38 and 41 which read as follows:

> '38. Beyond this region, the continent making a wide curve from the east across the depths of the bays, there follows the coast district of Scythia, which lies above toward the north; the whole marshy; from which flows down the river Sinthus (Sindhu or The Indus), the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythraean Sea, bringing down an enormous volume of water; xxx. This river has seven mouths, very shallow and marshy, so that they are not navigable, except the one in the middle; at which by the shore, is the market-town, Barbaricum. Before it there lies a small island, and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out.' (87.p.37)

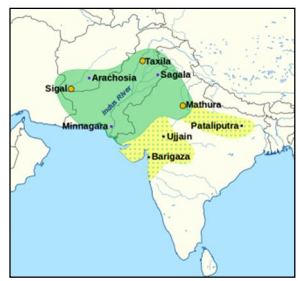


Fig.1.7. Indo-Scythian kingdom around River Indus
[Source: Internet]

'41. Beyond the gulf of Baraca (Gulf of Khambhat) is that of Barygaza (Bharuch) and the coast of the country of Ariaca (Parts of Gujarat), which is the beginning of the kingdom of Nambanus (Saka ruler 'Nahapana') and of all India. That part of it lying inland and adjoining Scythia is called Abiria, but the coast is called Syrastrene (Saurashtra). It is a fertile country, yielding wheat and rice and sesame oil and clarified butter, cotton and the Indian cloths made there of the coarser sorts. The metropolis of this country is Minnagara, from which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza.' (87.p.39)

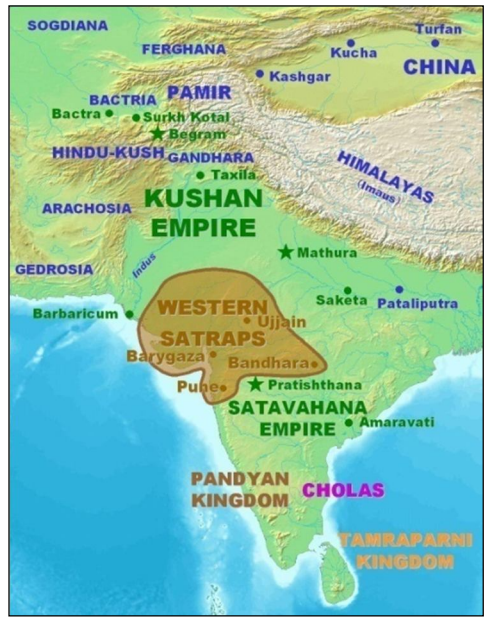


Fig.1.8. Indo-Scythian kingdom around River Narmada

In both these paragraphs *Periplus* refers to Minnagara as the metropolis of two different Indo-Scythian polities, one around the mouth of the Indus and the other in the valley of Narmada. Historians interpret the name Minnagara for (Min + Nagara) "City of the invaders"; – 'Min' being the Hindu name for the

Saka invaders. According to Schoff, 1912, Minnagara was a name given temporarily to several cities of India during the period of the occupation by the Scyths (the Sakas). After the collapse of the Indo-Scythian power these cities resumed their former names with their autonomy. (87.p.165) The Minnagara reported by Ptolemy in the valley of Baitarani and Brahmani would indicate existence of an Indo-Scythian settlement in Odisha by the second century A.D.

Indo-Scythians, commonly known as Sakas, migrated from Central Asia into Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and North-Western India from the middle of the second century B.C. The Taxila Copper Plate and the inscription on the Mathura 'Lion Capital' indicate the rule of Sakas in north-western parts of India. It is supported by the evidence of coins and of Indian literature. 'In Indian literary works of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, Sakas are mentioned along with the Yavanas.' 'The original home of the Sakas was in Central Asia, north of the river Syr Darya in present day Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. In about 160 B.C., the pressure of another tribe Yuech-chi compelled them to move towards the South.' (127.p.141) They pushed through Afghanistan and Baluchistan to the lower valley of Indus which became their main base to penetration further into north and western India. 'As more and more Sakas came, some of them were employed by Parthian rulers as Governors or 'Satraps'. This title was so much liked by the Sakas that even when they became independent rulers they continued to be called "Satraps".' (127.p.140) Some of the Saka kings designated themselves as Kshatrapa.

From roughly 80 B.C. to 60 B.C., Saka armies from east Iran, where these tribesmen had settled as semi-independent governors of the Parthian Empire, campaigned in the neighboring parts of India. It was only towards the end of this period that the Sakas were successful in occupying the

important cities of northwestern India. Saka armies fanned out in all directions, killing and plundering in the manner of the Indo-Greeks. In due course of time, they established many independent kingdoms with different Saka families placed as provincial governors (Satrap). In the north from Indus valley they expanded up to Mathura and were commonly called as 'Northern Satraps'. In the west, another family of Sakas carved out a territory comprising Gujarat, Maharashtra and parts of Madhya Pradesh, to be called as 'Western Kshatrapa'.

The Northern Satraps dominion was frequently infringed upon by Indo-Parthians and later on by Kushanas, one of the Yuech-chi tribe, who were expanding into India from the North-West. By 75 A.D., Kushanas occupied much of Afghanistan, today's Peshawar and Pakistan and by end of the first century they encompassed the area of Mathura. Kushan dominions expanded into the heartland of northern India in the early second century AD.

The Western Kshatrapas ruled for a longer period of about 350 years. But from the later part of the first century A.D., they faced threats from Kushanas of the north and in second century from Satavahanas of the south. Several battles were fought between the Satavahana dynasty and the Western Satraps. Gautamiputra Satakarni, the illustrious ruler of Satavahana dynasty, defeated the Western Satraps and conquered some parts of Gujarat in the second century A.D. From that period, the power of the Saka rulers in Narmada basin started to decline and their kingdom was ultimately destroyed by Chandragupta-II of Gupta Empire in the fourth century A.D.

The Northern Satraps of Mathura had ventured to expand further but their attempt was thwarted by the Kalinga king Mahameghavahana Kharabela. Yuga Purana describes an

invasion by the Scythians sometimes during the 1st century B.C., which was foiled by the Kalinga king. The relevant verses are reproduced below:

शकानां च ततो राजा ह्यर्थलुब्धो महाबलः ।
दुष्टभावश्च पापश्च विनाशे समुपस्थिते ॥ ६२ ॥

कलिंगशतराजार्थं विनाशं वै गमिष्यति ।
कोवेडुकंडैः शबलैर्विलुंपतो गमिष्यति ॥ ६३ ॥

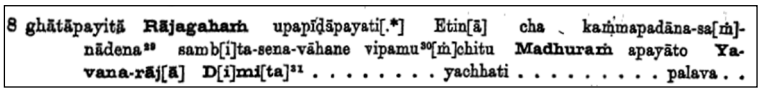
The account relates that a mighty Saka king, in his greed for wealth, came on a plundering raid and destroyed large number of men. During the course of his plundering, he was killed by the Kalinga king Sata and by a certain group of Kovedukanda Sabalas. Thereafter the Sakas returned to their own city. (124.p.58) Kalinga king Sata or Sada refers to Emperor Kharabela of Mahameghavahana family. Dr. D.B. Mishra, 2005, reports that there is a mention of "Mahameghavahana-Kalinga-Mahisakadhipati-Sri-Sada" in an inscription in Brahmi script and Prakrit language at Guntupalli in West Godavari district of A.P. belonging to cir. first century B.C. (94.p.44)

The statement of Yuga Purana is corroborated by epigraphic sources. The Hathigumpha inscription mentions that Emperor Kharabela, in his eighth reignal year, sacked Gorathagiri with a large army, and caused severe damage to Rajagriha, identified with present-day Rajgir of Nalanda district. The loud report of his triumph frightened the *Yavana* king to retreat to Mathura with the demoralised army. The word *Yavana* was generally used for invaders of foreign origin including the Sakas. Further in his tenth reignal year he dispatched the Kalinga army to conquer Bharatavarsha and early next year secured jewels and valuables from the kings attacked. In the

twelfth year, for the third time, he terrified the kings of *Utarapatha* comprising North India and North West India.

It seems that Kharabela made determined effort to curb the repeated advances of *Yavana* kings from north and north-west. The name of the Yavana king is not clear in the inscription. Three letters, appearing in eighth line after "Yavana-raj", have been read as 'D-mi-' and construed as 'Dimita' by R. D. Banerji and K.P. Jayaswal, to be identified with Indo-Greek King Demetrius. Some scholars consider this interpretation to be chronologically erroneous. Demetrius invaded the subcontinent early in 2nd century B.C. and established the Graeco-Indian kingdom covering parts of modern Afghanistan, Pakistan and North-Western India. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kalinga King Kharabela is dated, by most of the historians, to the first century B.C., and by that time the Indo-Parthians and Indo-Scythians have replaced the Indo-Greeks in North-West India. Mathura by that time was occupied by the Northern Satraps. However, with the few historical sources of the Indo-Greek kingdom available to us, some historians, on numismatic consideration, speak of three Indo-Greek rulers with the name 'Demetrius' placing Demetrius-III around 100-70 B.C. This may aptly support the interpretation of Dimita as Demetrius-III.

The reading of eighth line as deciphered by K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji, suggests two more names: 'Yachhati' and 'Palava' besides 'Yavana-raj'.


8 ghātāpayitā **Rājagahaṁ** upapīḍāpayati[.*] Etin[ā] cha ˛ kaṁmapadāna-sa[ṁ]-
nādena[29] samb[i]ta-sena-vāhane vipamu[30][ṁ]chitu **Madhuraṁ** apayāto **Ya-**
vana-rāj[ā] **D[i]mi[ta]**[31] . . . . . yachhati . . . . . palava . .

Line 8 of Hathigumpha Inscription of Emperor Kharabela of Kalinga
(32.XX.p.79)

The Indo-Parthians that ruled Indus delta in conflict with the Sakas were referred to as the Pahlavas in Indian sources. (26.p.217) The Kushanas belonged to the Yuech-chi tribe. Thus the words 'Yavana-raj' 'Yachhati' and 'Palava' in line 8th read with line 10th and 11th of Hathigumpha inscription would imply that Kalinga armies relentlessly fought with all these foreign forces to keep them at bay.

The post Kharabela history of Kalinga is yet to be unveiled. Perhaps, the successors of Kharabela managed to run the state through first century A.D. The vacuum created by fall of Chedi dynasty provided opportunity to Indo-Scythians to penetrate and establish their rule in Kalinga. This group was designated as Murunda which seems originally to have been an Indo-Scythian word meaning lord or master; the Sanskrit equivalent of 'Swami'. Dr. N. K. Sahu et al opine that 'Satavahana power (also known as Andhras) revived in the second century A.D. under Gautamiputra Satakarni who occupied Kalinga as well as Kosala in around 124 A.D. Gautamiputra was succeeded by his son Vasishthiputra Pulumavi in 130 A.D. and made further attempt to extend the empire. The death of Vasishthiputra in 154 A.D. led to great confusion in the empire. Taking advantage of the weak successors of Pulumavi, a foreign tribe called Murunda took possession of Kalinga region.' (89.p.57)

Unfortunately, the historiography of this period has been confused by scholars, some suggesting the rule of Kushanas in Odisha and others placing Murundas in Gangetic basins with their capital at Pataliputra. The inadvertent naming of 'Murunda coins', as "Puri-Kushana coins" by British Indologist Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, has prompted the scholars to assume rule of Kushanas in Odisha. The first find of such coins was made near Purushottampur in the Ganjam district by Walter Elliot,

published in 1858 in *the Madras Journal of Literature and Science* No.7 (New Series). Elliot suggested close affinity of these coins with those of the Indo-Scythian group. The second find was made in Puri district in 1893 at Gurbai Salt factory near Manikapatna, where it was found that 548 copper coins were buried in a small jar, about 0.6 m below the surface. This was published by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1895. Dr. Hoernle called these as "Puri-Kushana" coins since this type came from Puri region. (05.p.33) The Indo-Scythian group of coins does have some resemblance with portrait type coinage of Kushanas. But the word 'Kushana' in the name of these coins has spurred some scholars to suggest that Odisha came under the dominion of Kushanas, who circulated these coins during second and third century A.D.

The Kushana invaded India from the northwest. King Kadphises-II (78-110 A.D.) was a great warrior and administrator like his father Kujula Kadphises. He defeated Western Kshatraps and extended the boundaries of his empire upto Banaras. (127.p.146) Kanishka, the most striking figure among the Kushana Kings of India, claims to have established his supremacy over central and western India. Some historians believe that he had conquered portions of Magadha and extended his power as far as Pataliputra. But there is no evidence of Kushanas advancing further east to Kalinga. Around 270 A.D., the Kushana territory in India was fragmented into independent kingdoms under different local governors. Satavahanas also lost their imperial status in 3rd century with corresponding rise of local rulers claiming independence.

The rise of local powers in India before the advent of Gupta dynasty in 4th century A.D. is corroborated by Puranas.

The Matsya, Vayu and Brahmanda Purana describe the local rulers as under:

Andhranam samsthite rajye tesam bhrty-anvaya nrpah,
Saptaiv Andhra bhavisyanti, das Abhiras tatha nrpah
Sapta Gardabhinas capi, Sakas castadasaiva tu
Yavan astau bhavisyanti, Tusaras tu caturdasa
Trayodasa Murunda ca, Mauna hy ekadasaiva tu (25.p.45)

The epics record that weakening of Satavahana (Andhra) power gave rise to formation of a number of kingdoms ruled by different dynasties. The number of kings in each of these dynasties reigning before Guptas are: 7 Andhras, 10 Abhiras, 7 Gardabhins, 18 Sakas, 8 Yavanas, 14 Tusaras (Kushanas), 13 Murundas and 11 Mannas. These local dynasties are all clubbed together as more or less contemporaneous. In all these Puranas Murundas are listed among Sakas, Yavanas and Kushanas stating specifically that the Murundas were a different offshoot of Indo-Scythian group.

These dynastic names are also mentioned in the 'Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta' (A.D. 335-76) of Gupta dynasty. This pillar, an *Asoka Stambha,* carrying the Asokan edict was originally set up at the ancient city of Kaushambi in third century B.C. At some point of time, the pillar was moved to Allahabad Fort. It also contains the inscriptions of Samudragupta of fourth century A.D., and of the Mughal emperor Jahangir of seventeenth century A.D.

Line 23-24 of the Inscription of Samudragupta reads as follows:

LL. 23-24; दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि-शक मुरूण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च सर्व्व-द्वीप-वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन-कन्योपायन-दानगरुत्मदंकस्वविषय-भुक्तिशासन-याचनाद्युपाय-सेवाकृत.....।

(59.p.320)

It is translated as:

> Daivaputras along with Sahis, Sahanusahis, Sakas, and Murundas, and the people of Simhala and all (other) islands are said to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Samudragupta by rendering to him all kind of service (seva) such as coming to the emperor personally (*atmanivedana*) gifts of maidens (*Kanyopayana*), presents (*dana*) and application (*yacana*) for charters bearing the Imperial Gupta Garuda seal (*Garutmadanka*) by which they would not be disturbed in the enjoyment (*bhukti*) and administration (*sasana*) of their respective territories (*svavisaya*). (59.p.318)

Scholars have variously interpreted the words "Daivaputra-Sahi-Sahanusahi-Saka-Murundai". Some consider it as 'one compound expression' denoting titles belonging to Kushanas. Others propose 'Daivaputra-Sahi-Sahanusahi' as Kushana but 'Saka-Murunda' as the Western Kshatrapa. According to recent interpretation each of them was a separate potentate who established diplomatic relation with Samudragupta. The Purans also hold them as sovereign dynasties. Daivaputra in the inscription has been used to refer Kushana kings whereas Sakas are mentioned separately. The Saka domain was divided into provinces, each under a military governor called Satrap or Kshatrapa, having independent status. 'Saka kings took exalted titles, such as 'great king' or 'king of kings', derived from Hellenistic and Achaemenid usage.' (26.p.220) These independent Satraps and Kshatrapas have been mentioned as Sahi, Sahanusahi and Sakas. The Murundas of the inscription cannot be equated with Kushanas or Saka-Kshatrapas. They were a separate dynasty.

Ashvini Agrawal, 1989, has critically analysed various other sources to reinforce that Murundas had never ruled from Pataliputra. According to him:

> "The theory of the Murundas rule in the Gangetic plain with capital sometimes located at Pataliputra and sometimes at Kanauja,

has been assiduously built up on the basis of evidence that will not stand a moment's scrutiny, and yet writer after writer has subscribed to it in spite of some very cogent dissent. In 1896 Sylvain Levi, contributed a paper on the Murundas to the *Melanges Charles Harlez,* in which he wrote that certain Chinese envoys to the country of Funan got an account of a country in India, from the envoys sent by the king of Funan to India in the third century A.D. The Chinese gave the name of this Indian king as Meou-loun, whom Sylvain Levi takes to be identical with Murunda. Another fact, generally not mentioned in this connection, is that this Indian king sent Yueh-chi horses to the king of Funan. Levi is said to have identified the Murundas with the Maroundai mentioned in *Ptolemy's Geography*, where they have been placed "on the left bank of the Ganges, south of the Gogra, down to the top of the delta. Levi finds further support from the Jain accounts which designate the Murundaraja as ruler of Kanyakubja and as residing at Pataliputra. It has been thus sought to prove that in the third century of the Christian era, that part of the Gangetic plain which includes Magadha, was ruled over by a foreign people called Murunda." Agrawal considers 'the information of the Chinese sources relied upon by Levi is second hand information, as they got it from the envoys of the king of Funan who had 'recently' returned from India; and therefore there is every likelihood of certain inaccuracies creeping in.' (60.p.71) Regarding the Jain literatures, he remarks that 'these Jain accounts have no more historical value than the works of fiction and we should not try to deduce important historical conclusions from these, as their information is not only inaccurate but also imaginary.' He further writes that "The evidence of the *Puranas* has been similarly misunderstood. Thirteen Murunda kings are no doubt mentioned in the *Puranas* and assigned a total rule of 200 years, which even the great Kushanas did not enjoy. Moreover, they are placed amongst the various local dynasties, and are never mentioned either in succession to the Andharas in Magadha, or along with the Nagas before the rise of the Guptas. The *Puranas*, on the other hand, mention one Visvasphani as the king of Magadha in the third century A.D., who is said to be very valiant and the one who established other kings namely Kaivartas, Panchakas or Madrakas, Pulindas and Brahmanas in various countries. The name of the Murundas occurs nowhere in this account and Visvasphani by no

> stretch of imagination can be connected with the Murundas who are mentioned separately. It is, therefore, utterly unwarranted to regard them as the rulers of Magadha at any time. It is really amazing that though not even a single coin or an inscription of a Murunda king has so far been discovered from any place in the Gangetic plain, the existence of their rule over this region has been repeatedly asserted." (60.p.73)

We will discuss, in the next chapter, a number of numismatic and epigraphic sources endorsing the Murunda supremacy in Kalinga. The following verse of Vayu Purana speaks of the long tenure of this dynasty:

> *Satany ardha-caturthani bhavitaras trayodas I*
> *Murunda Vrsalaih sardham bhavyanya Mleccha-jatayah II* (25.p.47)

Thirteen kings of Murunda dynasty ruled Kalinga for about two hundred years between the second and the fourth century A.D. Due to their foreign origin, the Hindu authors dubbed them as '*mleccha*'.

Indo-Scythians had great experience in Sino-Roman and Sino-Indian trade that continued in the 'Silk Route' passing through Central Asia. They used to lead trade caravans in the rough passage of high mountains and deserts. Coming to India they realised the advantage of oceanic trade and preferred to settle at centers of flourishing maritime commerce. The first few groups occupied the maritime-hubs of the west-coast, the Indus delta and Narmada basin by first century A.D. Murundas coming in second century chose the region Dosarene of Odisha to carve out a domain and named their capital at Jajpur on the bank of Baitarani as *Minnagara.*

BRAND PRODUCTS OF KALINGA

The commodities traded two thousand years ago were certainly different from that of our time. Kalinga, the ancient Odisha,

had some distinctive stuff which had exclusive fervor in the then commercial world. Minerals, gemstones, farm and forest products, the Kalinga breed of elephants, and goods crafted by artisans were the precious commodities for trade. 'The Buddhist *Jataka* mentions Kalinga as a great commercial and industrial country, which exported ivory, diamonds, fine cloth, rice, and other goods to foreign countries.' (61.p.09)

Dosarenic Ivory

Ivory was in trade since ancient times with records dating back to fourteenth century BC. The tusks of elephant were used in sculpture, for statues, sword hilts, ceremonial chairs, doors, household furniture, piano keys, billiard balls and other expressions of high-valued possessions. Both the Greek and Roman civilisations practiced ivory carving to prepare art pieces, precious religious objects, and decorative boxes for those who wished to make ostentatious display of exotic wealth. Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis, the Roman poet of the first century A.D., wrote the satire for such affluent class:

> "Nowadays a rich man takes no pleasure in his dinner, his venison has no taste, his roses seem to smell rotten, unless the broad slabs of his dinner table rest upon a ramping, gaping leopard of solid ivory."

Ivory was also used extensively in Egypt for a variety of objects. There was jewelry in the form of anklets, armlets, bracelets, hairpins, rings, and earrings and cosmetic items such as boxes and caskets, combs, mirror handles, fans, and ointment spoons. Luxury domestic objects included shallow dishes, inlay and legs for furniture, and vases, and there were weapons such as arrowheads, handles for knives, daggers, and harpoon heads. Ebony inlaid with pieces of ivory would make attractive furniture, boxes, gaming boards, and other items.

The Chinese have long valued ivory for both art and utilitarian objects. Chinese craftsmen carved ivory to make everything from images of deities to the pipe stems and end pieces of opium pipes. According to their chronicles of 7th century A.D., 'the couches of the ruler of Kalinga (Holing) in Java were all made of ivory'. (93.p.215) It was one of the prized items of tribute offered by the ancient Southeast Asian kingdoms to the Chinese Emperor. In Japan, ivory was carved into 'name seals', *hanko*, for the officials to sign documents and decrees by stamping them with their unique official seal.

During the early centuries ivory was traded in the marts of African coast and in west coast of India. But Periplus accentuated the product of Odisha with a brand name 'Dosarenic ivory', indicating that the type of ivory imported from Odisha was highly prized in Roman Empire. Wilfred H. Schoff, 1912, while identifying Dosarene with modern Odisha, observes: 'The ivory from this region has long been famous. It is mentioned both in the Mahabharata and in Vishnu Purana, as the most acceptable offering which the king of the Odras could take to the Pandu sovereign'. (87.p.253)

Besides the ivory, the elephant stock of Odisha (Kalinga) has also been commended for their dynamism since antiquity. Kautilya admired the elephants of Kalinga as the best of their types in India. (89.p.41) *Raghuvamsa* of Kalidas, while describing the battle of Raghu with the King of Kalinga, sings the praise of Kalinga elephant cavalry, in verse 40 of Chanto IV. It says:

प्रतिजग्राह कालिङ्गस्तमस्त्रैर्गजसाधनः ।
पक्षच्छेदोद्यतं शक्रं शिलावर्षीव पर्वतः ॥ ४० ॥

(119.p.85)

The king of Kalinga, strong in his war elephants, received him (Raghu) with showers of missiles, as a mountain, showering stones, would (receive) Indra, prepared to cut its wings. (119.p.29)

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang who came to India in the first half of the 7th century A.D. had appreciated the elephant wealth of Odisha. While reporting on central Odisha, then known as Kongoda, he records that 'The great greenish-blue elephant comes from this country. They harness it to their conveyances and make very long journeys.' In southern Odisha, then known as Kalinga, he mentions of 'the great tawny wild elephant, which are much prized by neighbouring provinces.' (79.II.p.207)

In the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva, the illustrious king of Odisha, who extended the territory from Ganges in the north to Godavari in south, had adopted the title of Nava-Navati-Sahasra-Kunjaradhiswara (master of 99,000 elephants) in one of his inscriptions. (61.p.76) The legacy continued and in the fifteenth century the Suryavamsi rulers of Odisha assumed the title 'Gajapati' or the 'Lord of Elephant' for their efficient elephantry.

Odisha still preserves its wealth of elephants. Currently the state has three Elephant Reserves spreading over 8509 square kilometers and fourteen Elephant Corridors laid over 421 kilometers to facilitate movement between the reserves. This keystone species of the ecosystem is abundant in north-west Odisha which forms the region Dosarene of the Periplus. Baitarani and Brahmani run through the luxuriant forests of Eastern Ghats forming propitious and perpetual habitat for the Elephants. The region extends to join the forests of Jharkhand,

Chhattisgarh and West Bengal permitting long distance migration. Large herds of elephants still pervade this territory.

Fig.1.9. A herd of Odisha Elephants

Precious Stones

Kalinga was once famous for her precious stones which were associated with distant trade as diamonds. Semi-precious stone beads have been reported from various excavation sites of Odisha and Southeast Asia. (130.p.119) As reported by the authors of early centuries, the rivers Sankha and Koel, in Sundargarha district and Mahanadi in Sambalpur district were the source of diamond and the gem stones. 'According to Ptolemy, diamond was available from the region of Sambalpur.' (73.p.92) The name "Hirakud", meaning 'the diamond mound', near Sambalpur and now the site of a major multipurpose river valley project, symbolises the reputation of the region bearing precious stones in early period.

As late as in 1928, Walter Hamilton wrote in *East India Gazetteer*:

> Diamonds of the first quality and of various sizes are found in the Mahanadi, and in several of its subsidiary streams, more especially at the mouths of the Maand, Kheloo, Hebe, & c., all of which have their sources in the mountains of Korba, Raigarh, Jaspur of Chhatisgarh and Gangpur (Sundargarh), Odisha, and join the

Mahanadi on its left bank. They are also picked up after the rains in the little bays and alluvial islands, where they are sought for by the *Johurries*, a peculiar tribe of diamond finders. It is said that diamonds are never found on the right bank of the Mahanadi, or even on the left bank above its junction with the Maund at Chandrapur, or below Sonepur, from which it is inferred that they are washed down from the side banks of the streams that flow from the north to the south through the almost inaccessible tract. This fact is rendered probable by their also being found in the small nullahs of Raigarh, Jaspur, and Gangpur; but from the hitherto distracted condition of this wild region no attempt has yet been made to discover the diamond beds, or excavate the mines. One large diamond found by the searchers, and preserved in 1818 in the fort of Sambalpur, was sold in Calcutta for 7,000 rupees. (Reoughsedge, Stirling, Jenkins, &c.) (29.II.p.163)

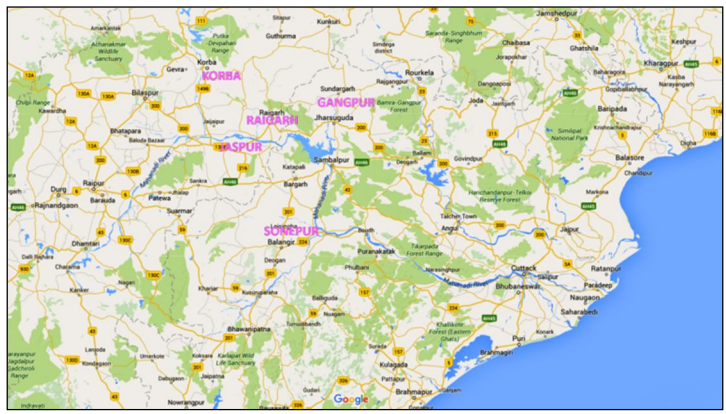


Fig.1.10 Precious Stone Find places in Odisha

The stones washed away from hills during rains are searched and picked up by the natives from the creeks and rivulets flowing down the hills. Even nowadays gem stones are collected by locals in the hill tracts in the western districts of Odisha.

Textile

The manufacture of textiles appears to have been carried out in Odisha since ancient times. (61.p.74) It had a vast domestic market as well as great demand in Southeast Asia. The Nagas of Kalinga are said to have earned a name in the art of weaving which is probably evident from the fact that the word Kalinga in the Tamil language came to denote 'cloth'. (114.p.253) Hunter, 1872 comments that "Kalinga was at that time an emporium of trade. It boasted of fabrics which it could send as valuable presents to the most civilised monarchs of the interior. So fine was the linen, which the prince of Kalinga sent to the King of Oudh, that a priestess who put on the gauzy fabric was accused of appearing naked." (129.p.197) The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya names Kalinga as one of the seven countries which produced the best type of cotton cloth, the others being Madurai, Konkan, Kasi, Vanga, Kausambi and Mahishaka. (114.p.252) Regarding the quality of Kalinga fabric, Mitra, 1961 remarks that, "in neatness, elegance and richness of design and execution, it is in no way inferior to the finest production of the Benares loom of the present days" (61.p.75) Weavers are found living in the villages close to the sites of ancient ports. (28.p.213) They had formed guilds to carry out the trade. Copper plate inscriptions of the early period indicate royal favour for promoting the textile industry. Weavers and Traders (Tantubaya and Soundika) were exempted from the burden of paying taxes in the land grants made by the kings.

Other Products of Trade

Surplus food production in riverine delta, a variety of forest products from hills and accessible mineral resources supported specialised occupations promoting manufacture of quality

goods. Rich deposits of iron and coal helped locals to acquire the knowledge of metallurgy. Slag of iron is abundantly diffused throughout the hills and forests signifying the competency of the local people in the skill of iron smelting. Use of iron tools brought improvement in every aspect of agriculture such as land levelling, deep ploughing, digging sources of irrigation and channel, reclaiming new areas for farming, etc. that enabled farmers to increase crop harvests. Higher farm production boosted economic growth and urbanisation. Excavations at Sisupalgada, Jaugada and more recently at Radhanagar had discovered early historic urban culture in Odisha. The process of urbanisation, expertise and excellence in arts and crafts, social consolidation and the resource availability encouraged Kalinga merchants to carry on trans-oceanic commerce on a variety of mineral, farm, forest and artisan products.

THE SAILORS OF THE EASTERN SEA

Mahakavya Raghuvamsa of the celebrated poet Kalidas, in Chanto-VI, Verse 54, eulogizes King of Kalinga as the lord of Mahendra and Mahodadhi (*Patih Mahendrasya Mahodadhesvo*).

असौ महेन्द्राद्रिसमानसारः पतिर्महेन्द्रस्य महोदधेश्च ।
यस्य क्षरत्सैन्यगजच्छलेन यात्रासु यातीव पुरो महेन्द्रः ॥ ५४ ॥

(119.p.140)

Sanskrit scriptures referred the Bay of Bengal as *Mahodadhi*. *Rg* Veda and Banabhatta's Kadambari designated it as *Purbambodhi* or the Eastern Sea.

Kalinga's maritime primacy on the eastern sea-board and thriving overseas trade was perhaps the paramount cause for

Asoka's invasion. 'No doubt the Mauryans had intimate relations with the contemporary Hellenistic powers in the West, but their foreign relations appear to be more of social and cultural than of commercial nature. The Mauryas by that time had not built up a naval power. The Navadhyaksa or the Superintendent of Shipping, mentioned by Kautilya, was in charge of policing the rivers, lakes and seashores rather than organising the maritime enterprise. The aversion of Kautilya for trade in the mid-ocean (Samyanapatha) and his preference for trade along the coast (Kulapatha) amply suggests that the Mauryas were lagging behind in overseas trade. Important trade routes from the Gangetic valley to Deccan and further South were passed through Kalinga and the control of these routes was perhaps considered essential for the interest of Magadha. The growing Magadha Empire in spite of its foreign associations and internal resources was confronted with fiscal crisis. It was probably rightly apprehended that the continued existence of a flourishing Kalinga with her thriving trade might have adversely affected the economy of the Mauryan Empire. Under these circumstances war with Kalinga was a pressing necessity for Asoka.' (55.p.221)

Freed from Mauryan control, Kalinga restored its military and economic prosperity. By about first century B.C. it was in full command of the commerce of the east coast. Hathigumpha inscription in eleventh and thirteenth passages claim Kalinga king Mahameghavahana Kharabela 'broke up the confederacy of the Tamil countries' and caused the Pandyan king to bring horses, elephants, jewels, rubies and pearls to his court as tribute. The passages highlight the Kalinga supremacy of the maritime trade in the Eastern Sea.

The archaeological excavation of Sisupalagada near Bhubaneswar has brought to the light an extensive fortified urban settlement that flourished from the third century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century A.D. The excavation yielded amongst others, the coins of gold, silver, copper and lead; iron implements of both peace and war such as knife blades, spikes, caltrops, daggers, spear, arrowheads, etc. Introduction of gold currency is indicative of a prosperous urban commercial economy in Kalinga during the period. 'The find of caltrops is notable because it has been found at Sisupalgada for the first time in India. The caltrops are said to have been used by the Romans in an early period for halting the progress of the enemy by laming their horses and elephants. The discovery of caltrop at Sisupalgada may, therefore, be taken to imply economic and cultural intercourse between Kalinga and Roman world during the early centuries A.D.' (114.p.271)

The strategic geographical location of Kalinga on the east coast provided excellent opportunity for its people to be first-rate sea-farers. Maritime commerce was the utmost passion which inspired the natives for thrilling adventures in the open sea. This spirit is reflected in literature and in sculptural and archaeological evidences. They were aware of the monsoon wind and sea currents long before the Christian era and effectively used the knowledge to establish maritime routes and colonies at far-off islands. Their ability to sail navies to defend friendly coasts and ravage enemy ships made them a formidable sea power. The sailors of Kalinga were the pioneers of Indian colonisation. They exercised control of the waterways and sea lanes and established trading-posts in Thailand, Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, Cambodia and Sri Lanka. Being the point of departure for vessels sailing for Southeast Asia,

Mahendra Mountain played a crucial role in the eastern ocean trade.

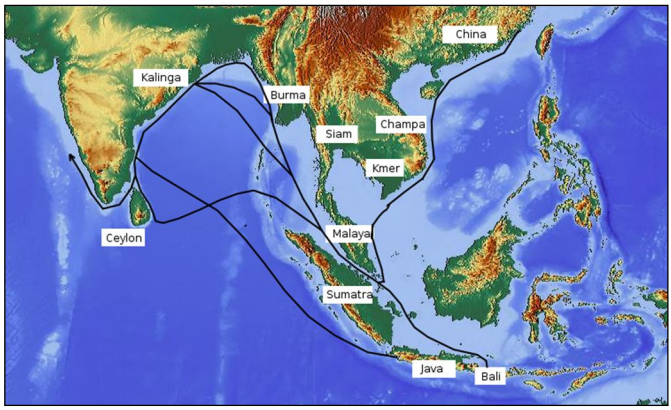


Fig.1.11 Maritime Trade Route from Kalinga

The region Dosarene and the river mouth Dosara had brisk maritime contact with the Mediterranean world on the west and Southeast Asian islands, Sri Lanka, Burma, China, etc. in the east. The deep and sheltered water-body at the confluence of Brahmani and Baitarani provided harbour facility for large vessels exporting and importing elephants. This was the gateway for the capitals of Odisha and for pilgrims to the Lord Jagannatha at Puri till the twentieth century A.D. River Birupa linked Brahmani with Mahanadi, the longest river flowing through Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Odisha. These three major rivers, Mahanadi, Brahmani and Baitarani formed the region called Dosarene and connected to an extensive hinterland rich in forest and mineral wealth. The caravan trade routes from central India also passed through this region. With assured and continued supply of commodities, the port and mart at Dosara prospered for the years to come.

2

Guhasiva's Dantapura

The sacred 'Tooth Relic' of Gautama Buddha, now enshrined in the temple 'Sri Dalada Maligawa' in the city of Kandy, is considered as an object of great veneration by the Sinhalese people. Sri Lankan chronicle Dathavamsa recounts the legend of the relic that was earlier worshipped by the Kings of Kalinga in their capital at Dantapura for about eight hundred years before being transferred to Sri Lanka in the fourth century A.D.

Fig.2.1. Temple 'Sri Dalada Maligawa' at Kandy

'According to *Maharaparinirvana suttanta;* after the death, the earthly remains of *Sakyamuni* were wrapped in cloth and covered in flowers and incense. On the seventh day after his demise his body was placed in a coffin and cremated on a pyre of fragrant wood. The ashes and bones were subsequently gathered by a

Brahmin named Drona. It was distributed amongst the King Ajatashatru of Magadha, the Licchavi rulers of Vaisali, the Buliyas of Allakappa, an influential Brahmin of Vethadipa; the Mallas of Kusinagara and Pava; the Koliyas of Koligrama and the Sakyas of Kapilavastu.' (11.p.06-08)

However, the Dathavamsa records that the left canine tooth of the Lord was retrieved from the funeral pyre by Arahat Khema and was handed over to Brahmadatta, the King of Kalinga. Brahmadatta built a stupa to worship the sacred relic in his capital city that was named 'Dantapura', the 'City of Tooth Relic'. For generations the 'Relic' continued to be worshipped in Kalinga till the reign of King Guhasiva, who on being threatened of its destruction by the revengeful rulers of other faith, secretly transferred that to Sri Lanka through his daughter and son-in-law.

This account of 'Tooth Relic' is revered as a religious epic by the followers of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Considering the relic as the symbolic representation of Lord Buddha, many poets of early period used to recite the legend in their native language with great pleasure. Later it was composed in Pali language with the title 'Dathavamsa' by Dhammakitti Thera, the "royal preceptor" of Sri Lanka, during the reign of Parakkramabahu-I, (1153-1186 A.D.). Being respectably requested by the most distinguished king of Sri Lanka, Dhammakitti compiled the history of the tooth-relic of Gautama Buddha for the benefit of the Buddhist world. Since then the chronicle has been held in great esteem by the priesthood and laity for its recounting the story of the founder of their religion.

The twelfth century work of Dhammakitti was translated into English by Mutu Coomara Swamy, Fellow of The Royal Asiatic Society, London, published by Trubner & Co., London

in 1874. Coomara Swamy has taken care to present a literal translation of the Pali text by retaining the original style, simplicity and chasteness of the verses. Like other Buddhist legends and Jataka stories, this story speaks of many supernatural events with a feeling of great devotion and adoration for Lord Buddha. It also throws some light on the history of India immediately after the *Maha Parinirvana* of the Buddha, with special mention of Kalinga.

Dathavamsa reports that after the cremation of the body of Buddha, while Drone distributed the relics to eight different kings, the sage Khema took the tooth-relic from the funeral pile. On departure of those kings from the site, Khema gave the tooth-relic to Kalinga king Brahmadatta. The king returned to his capital with the prized possession and constructed a magnificent temple inlaid with gold, adorned with hanging pearl-necklaces, abounding in hundreds of rooms at the top. Owing to the radiance of gems it was difficult to look at it. The tooth-relic was placed on a platform dazzling with gems, which Brahmadatta worshipped ardently. His son and successor Kasiraja and grandson Sunanda continued to worship the relic with great reverence. Many other kings also, in succession, worshipped the tooth-relic of the supreme Sage.

Sometime after a benevolent king named Guhasiva ascended the throne of Kalinga. He was liberal to all faiths, but the greedy *Niganthas* were extracting more charity from him. Once, the king was looking through the window of his palace. He saw the people decorating the city with rows of golden triumphal arches, flags, plantain-trees, and numerous festoons of flowers were observing a festive occasion with dancing, singing, and other amusements. On asking of the occasion, an intelligent minister said:

> "O great king! this relic of Buddha, who found the (means of) extinguishing desire, (and) who subdues all, was brought (hither) by the priest Khema. Former kings here, having associated with virtuous friends and worshipped this relic, went to the heavenly world. All these citizens too, eager for happiness in the next world, having assembled together are worshipping the relic of Buddha." (23.p.40)

The minister spoke at length on the greatness of Buddhism and the spiritual merit attained by revering the relic. Guhasiva was convinced with the appeal of the religious discourse and decided to profess the faith. The conversion of the king put the celebrants of his earlier faith at loss, and, being aggrieved, they approached the king Pandu, the powerful overlord with capital at Pataliputra. King Pandu belonged to a different faith. Taking the opportunity, the priests complained before him that the neighbouring king Guhasiva, condemning the supreme deities of your faith, is worshiping the bone of a dead body. Hearing their provocative words infuriated Pandu called for the feudal king Chittayana and ordered:

> "Go to the Kalinga country; bring here Guhasiva and the bone of the dead body worshipped by him night and day." (23.p.42)

King Chittayana, with his fourfold army immediately proceeded to Kalinga and camped on the outskirts of capital city Dantapura. Guhasiva, hearing of the arrival of a guest, greeted him with gifts of noble elephants and the like. Chittayana went round the city, saw the beautiful buildings, decorated gates and towers, many alms-giving-halls and was pleased with the cordiality. Accompanied by Guhasiva, he entered the palace and there he conveyed the dreadful message of Pandu. Inspite of the consequences ahead, unruffled Guhasiva addressed Chittayana thus:

> "Having during many Kappas unwearied fulfilled the duties required for the attainment of BUDDHAHOOD, by the gift of

> his flesh, eyes, and other things, for the benefit of the whole world; and, vanquishing the army of Mara, attaining the extinction of all passions, (and), through unobstructed knowledge, arriving at the furthest shore of all truths; and disregarding the enjoyment of happiness during this life, he rescued the entire mass of beings from the sea of (repeated) existence, by the aid of his ship, the Law. That man is indeed deceived who despises the Buddha, the God of gods, the refuge of all beings." (23.p.43)

Chittayana was delighted to hear the praise and penance of the Buddha and went to see the relic-temple with Guhasiva. There he experienced the divine powers of the relic emitting wonderful rays, smokes and flames. Having witnessed the miracles, he along with the army took refuge in Buddha. They also paid tribute to the relic.

As the order of King Pandu was inviolable, Guhasiva, carrying the relic-casket on his head, worshipping the shrine daily on the way and singing the praise of the lord, reached Pataliputra. Finding him fearless and unperturbed, the annoyed king Pandu asked for its destruction by putting it into fire, crushing it with a hammer and throwing it in a ditch. Every time the relic was thrown, it came out with dazzling rays converting the fire to lotus flower and the ditch to celestial pond. Amazed with the wonder, the people around there started praying the relic with devotion.

> "Elephants trumpeted; horses neighed; people uttered plaudits; kettle-drums and the like struck a pleasant sound. Men applauded it with songs of praise; even those who had modesty for (their) ornament danced; those who were excited waved garments over their heads; those who had minds elated with joy clapped their hands. The sky seemed as if it were overspread with clouds owing to the incense of the aloe-wood; the city appeared then as if made of cloth from the many lines of flags raised over it." (23.p.55)

The ministers advised the king to change his conviction and adore the relic. The king Pandu on realising his blunder,

asked the commander of the army to retrieve, propitiate and pray the relic for mercy. The king himself went there barefooted and with clasped hands begged for mercy:

> "O supreme Sage! People skilled in trade set a price on valuable gold, having rubbed it on the touchstone; such is the custom observed from ancient times. Also, wise men having purified, by means of fire, a gem found in a good mine; place it as an ornament on the summit of a royal diadem. O supreme Sage! All this was done by me now for the purpose of testing thee. O thou of great wisdom! Forgive my great sin, and quickly adorn my head." (23.p.58)

The king Pandu ardently worshipped the relic, carried it on his head and went round the city of Pataliputra. He and his people took refuge in the Buddha.

The king Guhasiva returned with the relic to Dantapura with due honour and glory. In the meantime Prince Danta Kumar, the son of the king of Ujjain, hearing the fame of the shrine came to Dantapura and engaged himself in the worship of the relic daily. His dedication, devotion, virtues and nobility pleased Guhasiva, who gave his daughter Hemamala in marriage to Danta. He was assigned the job of overseeing the performance of rightful ritual and protection.

There were repeated attacks on Kalinga by the envious kings to get hold of the relic. Once, the prince of Malwa came with a powerful army to seize the relic. Camping near the city he sent a message to the king of Kalinga to either surrender the tooth-relic or fight the war. Guhasiva called for his son-in-law and revealed his heart to him in utter agony:

> "Whilst my body lasts, I shall not give up the relic to another. Should I not be able to conquer them, take the tooth-relic, adored by gods and men; (and) assuming the disguise of a Brahman, go to the island Sinhala. King Mahasena (of Sinhala), a dear friend of mine, devoted to the service of the two lotus-feet of Buddha,

> coveting even the water touched by a relic, sent me different kinds of gems as presents. That king, ever wise, is able to honour the tooth-relic of Sugata." (23.p.62-63)

Fighting the war valiantly, Guhasiva died in the battlefield. Hearing the loss, Danta Kumar fled with the relic to south and crossing a large river, buried the tooth-relic in a heap of sand and came back. He along with his wife Hemamala dressed as wandering Brahmin ascetics left Dantapura. Hemamala concealed the relic in the lock of her matted hair and the couple proceeded to Sri Lanka. Enroute they went through a variety of vicissitudes, but could overcome all the obstacles by the grace of the Buddha.

They landed in Sri Lankan coast in the ninth reignal year of King Kittisirimegha (Kit Siri Meghavanna or Sirimeghavanna), the son of Mahasena.

Fig.2.2. Hemamala and Danta Kumar in Sri Lanka

On their way to Anuradhapura, the then capital of Sinhala, they camped at the great monastery called Meghagiri. The chief of the monastery treated the couple with great honour. He sent the message to the king through a priest and immediately the

king with a large retinue rushed to Maghagiri. There, observing a series of rare miracles performed by the sacred relic, he carried it on his head to the city of Anuradhapura.

Thus the sacred "Tooth Relic" of Gautama Buddha came to Sri Lanka from Dantapura of Kalinga. King Kit Siri Meghavanna built a temple for the relic at Anuradhapura. Later, with the change of capital, the relic shifted to the temples at Polonnaruva and finally to *Sri Dalada Maligawa* of Kandy, the last princely capital of Sri Lankan royalty.

Fig.2.3 The Sacred Relic in *Sri Dalada Maligawa* at Kandy

However, the star character of the chronicle, king Guhasiva, who went through so much of ordeal to safeguard the relic and transfer it to Sri Lanka, has not received adequate representation in the recorded history of Odisha or India. Scanty and scattered mention of him is found in some publications. Identification of

his capital Dantapura has been utterly confused by different scholars speculating various locations in and outside Odisha. This chapter makes an endeavour to knit together the scarce sources by integrating literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidences and rediscover this legendary king of Kalinga and his capital.

Most of the historians opine that Gautama Buddha lived in about fifth century B.C. Brahmadatta, the king of Kalinga who received the 'tooth relic' brought from the funeral pyre can be assigned to this period. He instituted the ritual of reverence of the relic at his capital Dantapura. Dathavamsa mentions names of only two successive Kalinga kings who continued to venerate the relic. They were Kasiraja and Sunanda; son and grandson of Brahmadatta. Their reign might have continued to fourth century B.C.

After lapse of considerable time king Guhasiva came to power in Kalinga and dispatched the relic to his friend Mahasena, the king of Sri Lanka. According to Dr. N. K. Sahu, et al., Mahasena's son king Siri Meghavanna,* was ruling over Sri Lanka at the time when Samudragupta of Gupta dynasty was ruling over northern India.

So Guhasiva, a contemporary of Sri Lankan king Mahasena, may be assigned the time of Chandragupta-I of Magadha i.e. 320-335 A.D. (89.p.59). The transfer of Tooth Relic, therefore, appears to have taken place in early fourth century A.D., after 800 years of being worshipped at Dantapura of Kalinga.

KALINGA BEFORE GUHASIVA

The history of Kalinga from the fourth century B.C. i.e. the time of king Sunanda of Dathavamsa, up to first century B.C. has been reconstructed by historians from the records preserved

in rock inscriptions of Emperor Asoka Maurya and Mahameghabahana Kharabela. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharabela in Udayagiri hillock of Bhubaneswar provides documented data for Kalinga of first century B.C. The inscription has not only recorded events in chronological sequence but also has referred to several historical rulers who were either contemporary of or earlier than Kharabela. (89.p.53) The lines 6 and 12 mention an earlier king Nanda of Magadha who had taken away the image of 'Kalinga-Jina' and excavated a canal near the capital of Kalinga. This 'Nanda Raja' of Magadha has been interpreted by historians as Mahapadma Nanda, who founded Nanda dynasty in Magadha in 345 B.C. by exterminating the Kshatriya dynasties and also occupied Kalinga in mid-fourth century B.C. The Matsya, Vayu and Brahmanda Puranas mention that Mahapadma Nanda was the son of Mahanandin, a Kshatriya king of Shisunaga dynasty and a Sudra mother. He was determined to annihilate the rule of Kshatriya families in all parts of India and declare himself as '*Ekachhatra*', the monarch of the entire region. The Puranas sing:

Mahanandi-sutas capisudrayam Kalik-amsa-jah
Utpatsyate Mahapadmahsarva ksatr-antako nrpah
Tatah prabhrti rajanobhavisyah sudra-yonayah
Eka-rat sa Mahapadmaeka-cchattro bhavisyati (25.p.25)

The Puranas also speak of as many as thirty-two kings of Kshatriya dynasty ruled over Kalinga up to the time of Mahapadma Nanda. (25.p.69) The abrupt ending of the line of succession after Sunanda, in Dathavamsa, suggests that perhaps he was the 32nd Kshatriya king of Kalinga and his successor was killed by Mahapadma Nanda who invaded Kalinga in fourth century B.C.

The next century historiography of Kalinga is known to the world from the rock edicts of Emperor Asoka. His grandfather Chandragupta Maurya established the Maurya

Empire in 322 B.C., overthrowing the successors of Mahapadma Nada. Chandragupta's dominions appear to have extended from the Himalayas in the north to Karnataka in the south and from Bengal in the east to the Arabian Sea and Afghanistan in the west. (48.p.04) But Kalinga remained an independent nation. Evidently, Kalinga slipped out of the Magadhan Empire during the chaotic period of Chandragupta's rebellion against the last Nanda. (89.p.41) 'After Chandragupta his son Bindusara extended the empire deeper into southern India, leaving untouched only the friendly Dravidian states in the far south and the unfriendly kingdom of Kalinga.' (11.p.16) In the meantime, Kalinga established her colonies in Burma and Philippines Islands and even spread her influence over the Islands of Indian archipelago. Thus while Magadha consolidated herself as a big land power, Kalinga tried to build her strength as an overseas power. (89.p.41) That perhaps clashed with Mauryan commerce in south India and Southeast Asia.

Bindusara died about 272 B.C. and his throne passed to his illustrious son Asoka whose coronation, however, took place four years later owing probably to a protracted struggle for succession. The information about Asoka's carrier and exploits is available from literary traditions and his own records engraved on rocks and stone pillars. (48.p.04) His rock inscriptions fall into three groups, viz., Minor Rock Edicts, [Major] Rock Edicts and Cave Inscriptions. (48.p.18) The Major Rock Edicts, describing Asoka's conquest, conversion, administration, and his efforts to spread moral and religious precepts, have been discovered at the following places:

1. Erragudi in the Kurnool District, Andhra Pardesh
2. Girnar near Junagadh in Gujarat
3. Kalsi in the Dehra Dun District, Uttarakhand

4. Old Kandahar near modern Kandahar in Afghanistan
5. Mansehra in the Hazra District, Pakistan
6. Shahbazgarhi in Peshawar District, Pakistan
7. Sopara in the Thana District, Maharastra
8. Jaugada in Ganjam District, Odisha
9. Dhauli near Bhubaneswar, Odisha

The inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugada in Odisha are different from that of the other places, and are called 'Special Kalinga Edicts'. At these places, two separate records occupy the place of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth edicts of the series as found elsewhere. These two edicts (Rock Edicts XV-XVI) were specially written for the people of Kalinga and the royal officers stationed in these places. (48.p.20)

We have no information of the events of the first few years of Asoka's rule. The major event that took place in the ninth year of Asoka's reign is 'invasion of Kalinga', the horrors of which and the consequent remorse of the Emperor have been recorded in his thirteenth edict. The transcription of this edict as published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India reads as under:

Major Rock Edict No XIII

This edict is not found at Dhauli and Jaugada.

Shahbazgarhi text :

"The country of the Kalingas was conquered by king Priyadarsi, Beloved of the Gods, eight years after his coronation. In this war in Kalinga, men and animals numbering one hundred and fifty thousand were carried away captive from that country, as many as one hundred thousand were killed there in action, and many times that number perished. After that, now that the country of

the Kalingas has been conquered, the Beloved of Gods is devoted to an intense practice of the duties relating to Dharma to a longing for Dharma and to the inculcation of Dharma among the people. This is due to the repentance of the Beloved of the Gods on having conquered the country of the Kalingas.

Verily the slaughter, death and deportation of men which take place in the course of the conquest of an unconquered country are now considered extremely painful and deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods. But what is considered even more deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods is the fact that injury to or slaughter or deportation of beloved ones falls to the lot of Brahmanas, the Sramanas, the adherents of other sects and the householders, who live in that country and among whom are established such virtues as obedience to superior personages, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders and proper courtesy and firm devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives as well as to slaves and servants. And, if misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives of persons who are full of affection towards the former, even though they are themselves well provided for, the said misfortune as well as becomes an injury to their own selves. In war, this fate is shared by all classes of men and is considered deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

Now, really there is no person who is not sincerely devoted to a particular religious sect. Therefore, the slaughter, death or deportation of even a hundredth or thousandth part of all those people who were slain or who died or were carried away captive at that time in Kalinga is now considered very deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

Now the Beloved of the Gods thinks that, even if a person should wrong him, the offence should be forgiven if it was possible to forgive it. And the forest-folk who live in the dominions of the

Beloved of the Gods, even them he entreats and exhorts in regard of their duty. It is here by explained of them that, in spite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possesses power enough to punish them for their crimes, so that they should turn away from evil ways and would not be killed for their crimes. Verily the Beloved of the Gods desires the following in respect of all creatures, viz., non-injury to them, restraint in dealing with them, and impartiality in the case of crimes committed by them.

So, what is conquest through Dharma is now considered to be the best conquest by the Beloved of the Gods. And such a conquest has been achieved by the Beloved of the Gods not only here in his dominions, but also in the territories bordering on his dominions, as far away as at a distance of six hundred Yojanas, where the Yavana king named Antiyoka is ruling and where, beyond the kingdom of the said Antiyoka, four other king named Turamaya, Antikini, Maka and Alikasundara are also ruling, and towards the south where the Cholas and Pandyas are living as far as Tamraparni. Likewise here in the dominions of His Majesty, the Beloved of the Gods – in the countries of Yavanas and Kambojas, of the Nabhakas and Nabhapankitis, of the Bhojapaitryainkas and of the Andhras and Paulindas – everywhere people are conforming to the instruction in Dharma imparted by the Beloved of the Gods.

Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the Gods have not penetrated, there too men have heard of the practices of Dharma and the ordinances issued and the instruction in Dharma imparted by the Beloved of the Gods, and are conforming to Dharma and will continue to conform to it.

So, whatever conquest is achieved in this way, verily that conquest creates an atmosphere of satisfaction everywhere both among the victors and the vanquished. In the conquest through Dharma, satisfaction is derived by both the parties. But that

> satisfaction is indeed of little consequences. Only happiness of the people in the next world is what is registered by the Beloved of the Gods as a great thing resulting from such a conquest.
>
> And this record relating to Dharma has been written on stone for the following purpose, viz., that my sons and great-grandsons should not think of a fresh conquest by arms as worth achieving, that they should adopt the policy of forbearance and light punishment towards the vanquished even if they conquer a people by arms, and that they should regard the conquest through Dharma as the true conquest. Such a conquest brings happiness to all concerned both in this world and in the next. And let all their intense joys be what is pleasure associated with Dharma. For this bring happiness in this world as well as in the next." (48.p.44-47)

The edict does not mention the cause of the war, the name of the king of Kalinga with whom and the place where the war was fought. The description of wanton killing of innocent people including the householders, Brahmanas and Sramanas suggests that Asoka led an invasion of Kalinga rather than fighting the battle of Indian style. The recorded exceptional severity: one hundred thousand killed; many times that number perished and one hundred and fifty thousand souls carried away as captives, would rank it as one of the major and bloodiest invasion in world history. The numbers quoted for slaughter, death and deportation certainly do not represent only the army casualties. It seems that the people of Kalinga rose to occasion and offered stiff resistance against brutal strength of Asoka and fought bravely till the end. The declaration 'now that the country of the Kalingas has been conquered' speaks of his contentment and proud accomplishment.

Asoka's invasion of Kalinga constitutes a landmark in the political and cultural history of India. The people of Kalinga

not only gave a heroic resistance but demonstrated very high standards of morality that moved the heart of the victor from cruelty to that of an exemplary piety. The edict declares "among whom (the people of Kalinga) are established such virtues as obedience to superior personages, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders and proper courtesy and firm devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives as well as to slaves and servants." Asoka learnt the great values and strength of *Ahimsa* (nonviolence) from the people of Kalinga. Perhaps, the world history would find it difficult to cite another example of a brutal campaign ending in a mission of peace for the humanity. Asoka embraced Buddhism and took the vow of inculcating 'Dhamma' to all men throughout his life. He sent missionaries to Sri Lanka, Macedonia, Greece and Syria to spread the message of Buddhism and peace.

Interestingly, the horrors of war and the remorse and repentance of Asoka do not find a place in the edicts located in Odisha. He has refrained from mentioning his magnanimous victory in the land of Kalinga. But popular misconceptions float around regarding the inscription at Dhauli, which are like – the Kalinga war was fought at Dhauli, thousands laid their life, water of river Daya (flowing nearby) turned red with blood; seeing the horrors of the battle, Asoka was full of remorse, an old lady came and asked Asoka the life of her dead son back, that precipitated realisation in Asoka for which he denounced conquest by war forever. Nothing of this sort is mentioned either at Dhauli or at Jaugada rock edicts; there is no mention even of Kalinga, no mention of war, or of death or denouncement. The two Special Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada are addressed to his officials posted at these places. The translated versions are reproduced below:

Major Rock Edict No XVI

This edict is found only at Dhauli and Jaugada.

Dhauli Text:

"The Mahamatras of *Tosali*, who are the judicial officers of the city, have to be addressed in the following words of the Beloved of the Gods.

As regards, whatever good I notice, I desire that I may carry it out by deeds and accomplish it by proper means. And I consider the following to be the principal means to this end, viz., to impart instruction to you. For you are placed by me over many thousands of beings with the object that I may gain the affection of all men.

All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own children, I desire that they may be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and in the next, the same I desire also in regards to all men. But you do not understand how far my intention goes in this respect. A few amongst you perchance understand it; but even such of you understand it partly and not fully. Howsoever well-placed you may be, you have to pay attention to this matter.

In the administration of justice, it sometimes happens that some persons suffer imprisonment or harsh treatment. In such cases, a person may accidentally obtain an order canceling his imprisonment, while many other persons in the same condition continue to suffer for a long time. In such a circumstance, you should so desire as to deal with all of them impartially.

But an officer fails to act impartially owing to the following dispositions, viz., jealousy, anger, cruelty, hastiness, want of perseverance, laziness and fatigue. Therefore, you should desire that these dispositions may not yours. And the root of the complete success of an officer lies in the absence of anger and avoidance of hastiness. In the matter of administration of justice, an officer does not get up for work if he is fatigued; but he has to

move, to walk and to advance. Whoever amongst you pays attention to this should tell other officers: "Pay attention to nothing except the duties assigned to you by the king. Such and such are the instructions of the Beloved of the Gods." The observance of this duty will produce great results for you; but its non-observance will produce great harm. For, if you fail to observe this, there will be for you neither the attainment of heaven nor the attainment of the king's favor. Because indifferent observance of this duty on your part cannot make me excessively energetic in favoring you. If, however, you observe this duty, you will attain heaven and also discharge the debt you owe to me, your master.

And all of you should listen to this record read out on the day of the Tishya constellation. Some of you may listen to it also on other suitable occasions on any day between two days of Tishya. In case you do this, you will be able to accomplish your duty.

This record has been written here for the following purpose, viz. that the judicial officers of the city may strive to do their duty at all times and that the people within their charges suffer neither from unnecessary imprisonment nor from unnecessary harassment.

Hence I shall cause my Mahamatras, who will be neither harsh nor fierce in temperament but will be gentle in action, to set out on tours of inspection, every five years, for the following purpose, viz., to ascertain if the judicial officers have realised this object of mine and are acting according to my instructions.

Similarly, from Ujjain also, the Prince Viceroy will send officers of the same class every year for the same purpose and will not allow three years to pass without such a mission being sent out on tour. In same way, officers will be deputed from Takshashila (Taxila) also. When these Mahamatras will set out on tours of inspection every year, then without neglecting their normal duties, they will have to ascertain the following, viz., if the local judicial officers are acting according to the king's instructions." (48.p.49-51)

Fig.2.4 Dhauli Edict of Asoka

Major Rock Edict No XV

This edict is found only at Dhauli and Jaugada.

Jaugada Text:

"Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

The following royal order has to be addressed to the Mahamatras (Officials) stationed at *Samapa.*

As regards whatever good I notice, I desire that I may carry it out by deeds and accomplish it by proper means. And I consider the following to be the principal means to this end, viz., to impart instruction to you.

All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own children. I desire that they may be provided by me with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and in the next, the same I desire in respect of all men.

The following question may occur to the people of the unconquered territories lying beyond the borders of my dominions: "What is the king's desire in respect of us?" The following alone is my wish which should be realised by the peoples living on the borders, viz., that the king desires that they should be unworried on his account, that they should have confidence on him, and that they should expect of him only

happiness and no misery. The following also should be realised by them, viz., that the king will forgive them in respect of any offence that is pardonable. My desire is that they should practice the duties associated with Dharma for my sake and that they should attain happiness in this world as well as in the next.

Now, I instruct you for the following purpose, viz., that I may free myself from the debt I woe to the people inhabiting the lands beyond the borders of my dominions by having instructed you and informed you of my will as well as my unshakable resolution and vow.

Therefore, acting accordingly, you should perform your duties. You should also inspire the people of the bordering lands with confidence in me, so that they might realise that the king is to them as their father, that he sympathises with them even as he sympathises with his own self, and that they are to be king even as his own children.

Having instructed you and informed you of my will as well as my unshakable resolution and vow, I feel that my appeal to you in this respect will be known to the people of the whole country. Indeed you are capable of inspiring them with confidence in myself and securing their welfare and happiness in this world and in the next. And, by so doing, you will attain heaven and discharge the debt you owe to me.

So, this record has been written here on stone for the following purpose, viz. that the Mahamatras should strive to do their duty at all times in order to inspire the people living on the borders of my dominions with confidence in me and to induce them to practice the duties associated with Dharma.

Therefore, all of you should listen to this record read out on every Chatrumasi day as well as on the day of the Tishya constellation. You may also listen to it on other days between two Tishya days. Some of you may listen to it even on any other occasion as it presents itself. And, by so doing, you will be able to accomplish your duties." (48.p.47-49)

Fig.2.5 Jaugada Edict of Asoka

In the lines of Dhauli and Jaugada edicts, Asoka expressed sentiments of compassion with the intention of building a trust amongst the people of Kalinga. Strategically, he divided Kalinga into two administrative units: the northern sector as Tosali and the southern as Samapa with headquarters at Dhauli and Jaugada. He attempted to reconcile with the war-torn people, not on the levels of ruler and subject, but as a paternal figure who cares for their welfare. At the same time, he issued a word of caution for the unconquered tribes residing outside the border of Kalinga.

In the absence of authentic historical records, it is difficult to reconstruct the political scenario of Kalinga after the reign of Asoka. None of his successors in Maurya dynasty have ever claimed to have ruled this country. 'The conquest of Kalinga marks the beginning of the decline of the political power of the Mauryas. The change produced in the mind of Asoka by the slaughter and bloodshed of the Kalinga war led to a revolution

in the policy of the Maurya Empire. Like all other kings who abandoned statecraft for religion, Asoka paved the way for the conquest of India by foreigners.' (03.p.91) 'Ashoka ruled for thirty-seven years and died in about 232 BC. Subsequently, a political decline set in and the empire began to break up. The last of the Mauryas, Brihadartha, was assassinated during an inspection of the troops by the Brahman Pushyamitra, the commander of the army. Pushyamitra founded the successor Shunga dynasty.' (26.p.204) 'But neither Pushyamitra nor any of his successors is known to have had any relation with Kalinga. The Kanvas, who supplanted the Sungas on the Magadhan throne, too, are not said to have in any way been associated with the destiny of Kalinga. So any attempt to connect Kalinga with either the post-Asokan Mauryas or the imperial successors of the Mauryas of Magadha can be no better than a very risky conjecture in the present state of our knowledge.' (114.p.54) Rather the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharabela provides enough clues to the existence of ruling chiefs in Kalinga prior to first century B.C. The expression '*Kalinga Raja vamse*' (in the ruling family of Kalinga) in third line and '*Kalinga Purvaraja nivesitam*' (founded by the earlier Kings of Kalinga) in fifth line of this inscription suggests the continuity of Kalinga dynasty in second century B.C., though, so far, we do not have records of their identity.

Probably Kalinga regained her independence after the death of Asoka and was ruled by local dynasties till it became one of the strongest powers in India under the reign of Mahameghavahanas of Chedi dynasty. The Hathigumpha inscription gives a vivid description of Kalinga supremacy in the first century B.C., along with the biographical sketches of *Kalingadhipati* Kharabela.

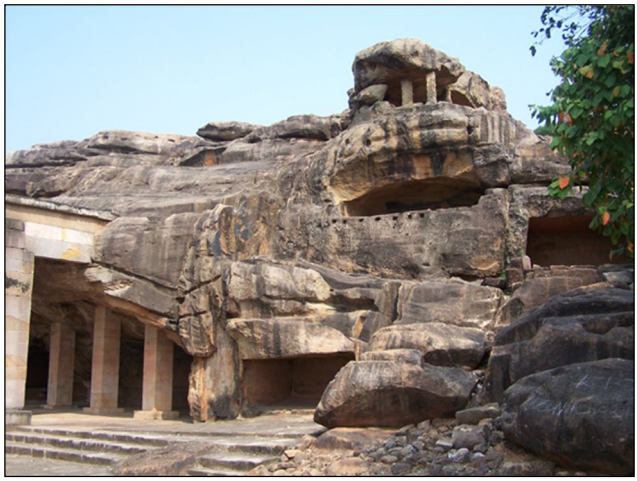


Fig.2.6 Kharabela's Hathigumpha inscription

This rock-cut inscription consisting of seventeen lines has been incised partly in front and partly on the roof of the Hathigumpha, an artificial cave, on southern face of the Udayagiri, a low range hill at Khandagiri and Udayagiri of Bhubaneswar. It was noticed for the first time by A. Stirling in 1825 and was deciphered and published by James Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837. The first authentic reading of the inscription is credited to historian Bhagwan Lal Indraji in 1885. Since then many scholars of India and abroad have attempted to translate the inscription; but a more authentic transcription could be made by K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister at-Law, Patna, and Professor R. D. Banerji, M.A., Benares Hindu University, in 1929 and published in Epigraphia Indica Volume-XX. Some improvements have also been made in subsequent years by other scholars.

Translation

The inscription starts with a version of the auspicious Jain Namokar Mantra "Namo Arhatan".

The body-text records:

(Line 1) Salutation to the Arhats (Jinas), Salutation to all the Siddhas, by illustrious Kharabela, the Aira, the Great King, the descendant of Mahameghavahana, the increaser of the glory of the Cheti (*Chedi*) dynasty, the overlord of Kalinga [*Kalinga adhipatina*], endowed with excellent and auspicious marks and features, possessed of virtues which have reached the four quarters.

(Line 2) Fifteen years, with a body ruddy and handsome, were spent in youthful sports.

Assuming the reign of Government as Yuvaraj; he received proper education in royal correspondence (*lekha*), currency (*rupa*), finance (*ganana*), civil and religious laws (*Vyavahara* and *Vidhi*) for nine years and become well-versed in all branches of learning.

(Line 3) Having completed the twenty-fourth year, on attaining manhood, he was crowned Maharaja in the dynasty of Kalinga (*Kalinga Raja Vamse*). In the first reignal year he causes repairs of the gates, the walls and the buildings of Kalinganagari, the capital city, which had been damaged by cyclone; built embankments on the lake, and tanks and cisterns in the city; and restored the gardens.

((Line 4)) This was done at the cost of thirty-five-hundred-thousand and pleased the people.

In the second year, he dispatches an army strong in cavalry, elephants, infantry (*nara*) and chariots (*ratha*) to the western regions controlled by Satkarnni of Satavahana dynasty. The army having reached the Kanha-bernna, throws the city of the Musikas into consternation.

(Line 5) Being himself proficient in *Gandharva* art, in third reignal year, he organised performances of acrobatics, dance and music at festivals and assemblies which greatly delighted the people of the capital city.

In the fourth year, following the tradition of former Kalinga king(s) [*Kalinga puvaraja nivesitam*] and with the aid of the resources of the invincible Vidyadhara territory, he caused the Rathikas and Bhojakas to bow down at his feet.

(Line 6) In the fifth year he extended the canal, originally excavated by the Nanda king, from Tanasuliya into the capital city.

Since he was performing the Rajasuya yajna he remitted taxes and cess and bestowed many hundreds of thousands on the institutions of the city and the realm.

(Line 7) In the seventh year, his famous wife known by the name "the Queen of Vajiraghara" became a mother.

Then in the eighth year, with a large army having sacked Goradhagiri, threatened the capital of Magadha, Rajagriha.

(Line 8) On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the Yavana king retreated to Mathura, having extricated his demoralised army.

(Line 9) More gifts follow – wish-fulfilling objects (*Kalpa-rukhe*), elephants, chariots, residences and rest-houses as well as the declaring exemption of tax for Brahmans.

(Line 10) A royal residence, the Palace of Great Victory (*Mahavijaya Prasadam*) was built at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand.

In the tenth year, following the three-fold policy of chastisement, alliance and conciliation sent an expedition to conquer Bharatavarsa and obtained jewels and precious things.

(Line 11) Attacked the town of Pithunda founded by the Ava king, and ploughed with a plough yoked to asses.

He thoroughly broke up the confederacy of Tamil countries, which has been a threat to Kalinga.

And in the twelfth year he terrifies the kings of the Uttarapatha (North-West India).

(Line 12) Causing panic amongst the people of Magadha he drove his elephants into the palace, and made the King of Magadha bow at his feet.

He retrieved the 'Kalinga Jina' which had been taken away from Kalinga by the Nanda king and brought home the riches of Anga and Magadha.

(Line 13) He settled a hundred builders, giving them exemption from land revenue, to build towers and carved interiors and stockades for elephants and horses.

Pearls, rubies and numerous precious stones (*Mukta-Mani-Ratanani*) were brought to his court from the Pandya realm in the south.

(Line 14) In the thirteenth year, Kharabela, the illustrious lay-devotee on realising the nature of Body and Soul (*jiva* and *deha*), respectfully offered royal maintenance, silks and white clothes to the monks of Jain monastery on Kumari hill where the Wheel of Conquest had been well-revolved.

(Line 15) A Council of the wise ascetics and sages, and monks of good deeds was held. On the top of the hill, the depository of the relic of the Arhat was embellished.

(Line 16) He causes Jain texts to be compiled.

He is the King of Peace, the King of Prosperity, the King of Monks (*bhiksus*), the King of Religion (Dharma), who has been seeing, hearing and realising the blessings (*kalyanas*).

(Line 17) He is accomplished in extraordinary virtues, respecter of every sect, the repairer of all temples, one whose chariot and army are irresistible, one whose empire is protected by the chief of the empire (himself), descended from the family of the Royal Sage Vasu, the Great conqueror, the King, the illustrious Kharabela.

Excerpted from *Epigraphia Indica*, XX,pp.71-89, KP Jayaswal & RD Banerji, *The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharabela*; *The Penguin History of Early India* by Romila Thapar, 2002, pp. 212-213 and *History of Orissa* by Dr. N. K. Sahu et al. 2010, pp. 48-52.

The inscription describes Kharabela not just as a great conqueror but as an enlightened and benevolent monarch. His military ascendancy was felt in all parts of India including the North-West region (*Uttarapatha*) occupied during that period by the foreign forces. He subdued the South Indian Tamil confederacy, which was not being claimed as conquered by Nandas and Mauryas of Magadha Empire. Asoka's edicts describe them as independent kingdoms. Kharabela, himself apt in music and dance, encouraged performance of art and culture in social functions and festivities. He spent generously in infrastructure development for the wellbeing of the people. Though a follower of Jainism, he respected all other faiths. Performance of Rajasuya yajna by Kharabela speaks of his deep regards for Vedic rituals.

Kharabela was succeeded by his son Kudepasiri whose inscription is found in the lower storey of the Manchapuri cave of the Udayagiri hill in Bhubaneswar. The inscription reveals that Maharaja Kudepasiri, the Lord of Kalinga, belonging to the dynasty of Mahameghavahan caused excavation of the caves. The Guntupalli Brahmi inscription in West Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh, records that a king named Sada belonging to the Mahameghavahana dynasty was ruling over Kalinga and Mahisaka (*Kalihga-Mahisakadhipati*) in the first century A.D. (89.p.56) No further data is available on continuance of Chedi dynasty in Kalinga beyond first century A.D.

Mention of 'Murunda' in Allahabad stone pillar inscription would suggest that this dynasty continued up to the period of Samudragupta (335-375 A.D). 'The Puranas preserve the account of a king named Guha who was ruling over Kalinga, Mahisa and Mahendra region about the time when the Guptas were enjoying the territory comprising Prayaga, Saketa and Magadha along the Ganges. King Guha may be assigned to the period when the Guptas rose to power in the middle Gangetic valley under

Chandragupta-I. Guha of the Puranic tradition is generally identified with Guhasiva, the king of Kalinga, mentioned in Dathavamsa.' (89.p.59) Literary sources report thirteen chiefs of Murunda dynasty ruled for 200 years but their genealogy has not been traced. Apart from Guhasiva, two more historical personalities of this period have so far been recognised. The Brahmi legend on the gold coin found in Sisupalgada excavation in 1948 has been read by A. S. Altekar as [*Ma*] [*hara*] *ja-ra* [*ja*] *dhasa Dhamadamadhara* [*sa*]. Altekar thinks that King Dhamadamadhara, i.e., Dharmadamadhara, might have been a Jain and belonged to Murunda family. (114.p.88) The gold coin was found at a level assigned to the second or third quarter of the third century A.D. According to Dr. N. K. Sahu, Maharaja Ganabhadra of Bhadrak stone inscription was very likely a Murunda chief. This inscription is datable to the second half of the third century A.D. (89.p.58)

GUHASIVA'S KALINGA

The territorial limit of Kalinga after Kharabela up to fourth century A.D. has not been reported in any epigraphic sources. However, the numismatic evidences of Murunda period provide authentic clues to describe the extent and bounds of Kalinga from second to fourth century A.D. The Indo-Scythian Murundas introduced a new coinage in Kalinga that was inadvertently misnamed as Puri-Kushana coins leading to aberrations in local historiography. In fact, Kushanas never ruled Odisha (Kalinga) nor did they have anything to do with these coins. Walter Elliot, who for the first time reported the discovery of these coins in 1858, had rightly observed its 'close affinity with those of the Indo-Scythian group'. (05.p.33) Numismatist P. Acharya, 1940, had suggested that these coins could be termed as "Early Orissan Coins" which are practically found in Odisha and in the neighbouring districts of Singhbhum and Manbhum. (05.p.34) Dr. V.A. Smith has also

opined that these coins have been issued by the rulers of Kalinga. (58.p.26)

Over the last two centuries, hoards of these Indo-Scythian coins have been discovered at the following locations:

Year	Find Place	District	Quantity	Reporting Source
1858	Pandya village near Purusottampur	Ganjam	A hoard	[1]M.J.L.S., 1858: 75-78
1893	Gurbai Salt Factory at Manikapatna	Puri	548	[2]P.A.S.B., 1895: 61-65
	Jaugada	Ganjam		[3]A.R.A.S.I. Vol. XIII p.116
1917	Rakha Hills	Singhbhum	363	[4]JBORS Vol. V, pp. 73-81
1912	NA	Balasore	910	A.R.A.S.I., 1924-25:130
1923	Bhanjakia	Mayurbhanja	105	[5]J.N.S.I. Vol. II P. 123 A.R.A.S.I., 1924-25:132
1939	Viratgada & Nuagaon	Mayurbhanja		J.N.S.I. Vol. II P. 124, Acharya, 1940
1947	Sitabinjhi	Keonjhar	135	[6]O.H.R.J., Vol. II p.85,
1953	Bhanjakia	Mayurbhanja	1261	J.N.S.I. Vol. II P. 123
1953	Kaima	Jajpur	100	[6]O.H.R.J., Vol. II pp.84-93
	NA	Manbhum	A hoard	[7] Basa & Mohanty, 2000
	Banitia	Bhadrak	3 big pot full	[8] Das H. C. 1988
	Baudpur	Bhadrak		[9] Das H. C. 1988
	Lalitagiri	Jajpur		[10] Basa & Mohanty, 2000

Sources:

1. Madras Journal of Literature and Science No.7 (New Series);
2. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal;
3. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India;
4. The Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society;
5. The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India;
6. The Orissa Historical Research Journal;
7. Archaeology of Orissa, 2000, Kishore K. Basa & Pradeep Mohanty, p. 33;
8. Glimpses of History and culture of Balasore, 1988, by Dr. H. C. Das, p. 143;
9. Glimpses of History and culture of Balasore, 1988, by Dr. H. C. Das, p. 183;
10. Archaeology of Orissa, 2000, Kishore K. Basa & Pradeep Mohanty, p. 459

The 'find places' have been plotted on Google Earth below:

Fig.2.7 The Find places of Coins Issued by Murunda dynasty in Kalinga

The map indicates that the circulation of the currency was in the territory that constitutes the present Odisha and the adjoining area of Jharkhand and West Bengal, which still preserve the remnants of Odisha culture. Kalidas (c. fourth – fifth century A. D.) in his *Raghuvmsa* mentions river Kapisa as the northern boundary of Kalinga.

स तीर्त्वा कपिशां सैन्यैर्बद्धद्विरदसेतुभिः ।
उत्कलादर्शितपथः कलिङ्गाभिमुखो ययौ ॥ ३८ ॥

[Verse 38 of Canto IV]

Translation: He (Raghu) crossed the river Kapisa with his troops by means of a bridge formed of the elephants and marched towards Kalinga, the path being led by the Utkala princes. (119.p.29)

River Kapisa, variously known as the Kangsabati and Kasai, rises in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and passes through Manbhum (Purulia), Bankuda and Medinapur before draining into the Bay of Bengal. Manbhum and Singhbhum constitute a geographical region which formed a part of West Bengal,

Jharkhand and Odisha during different periods of history in pre-independent India. The region, even today, presents the mixed culture of all these states.

The southern limit of Guhasiva's Kalinga was most probably extended upto Mahendra hills. Padmashri Dr. Rajguru observed that these coins have not been found south of Jaugada. (68.p.182)

The numismatic evidence of Guhasiva's territory is also corroborated by the literary sources such as Brahmanda Purana and Vayu Purana. The following verses of the Puranas report on the domain of Guhasiva along with the realms ruled by contemporary dynasties in early fourth century A.D.

Nava Nakas tu bhoksyanti purim Campavatim nrpah
Mathuram ca purim ramyam Naga bhoksyanti sapta vai
anu-Ganga Prayagam ca Saketam Magadhams tatha
etan janapadan sarvan bhoksyante Gupta-vamsa-jah
Naisadhan Yadukams caiva Saisitan Kalatoyakan5
etan janapadan sarvan bhoksyante Manidhanya-jah
Kosalams c Andhra-Paundram ca Tamraliptan sa-sagaran
Campam caiva purim ramyam bhoksyante Devaraksitah
Kalinga Mahisas caiva Mahendra-nilayas ca ye
etan janapadan sarvan palayisyati vai Guhah (25.p.54)

Translation: – Nine Naka (Naga) kings will enjoy the city Campavati; and 7 Nagas will enjoy the charming city Mathura. Kings born of the Gupta race will enjoy all the territories along the Ganges, namely Prayaga, Saketa, and the Magadhas. Kings born from Manidhanya will enjoy all these territories, namely the Naisadhas, Yadukas, Saisitas and Kalatoyakas. The Devaraksitas will enjoy the Kosalas, Andhras, and Paundras, the Tamraliptas and coast-folk and the charming city Campa. Guha will protect the territories, namely, the Kalingas, Mahisas, and the inhabitants of the Mahendra mountains. (25.p.73)

Besides Kalinga and Mahendra, Puranas add another region namely 'Mahisa' as part of the Guhasiva's domain.

Scholars have confused the geographical location of this ancient Indian state, some suggesting its location near Mysore of Karnataka, some in Andhra and others in eastern Maharashtra. Considering the records of Guntupalli inscription, that reads *Mahameghavahana Maharaja Sada* as *Kalihga-Mahisakadhipati*, Dr. N.K. Sahu places Mahisaka in Narmada valley of Maharashtra region. According to him "The Mahisaka territory comprising the Narmada Valley was formerly under the rule of the Satavahanas and thus, the Guntupalli inscription indicates that the Mahameghavahans defeated the Satavahanas and took possession of the Mahisaka territory. This corroborates the accounts of the Hathigumpha inscription belonging to the fourth regnal year of king Kharabela. This region continued to be under the rule of the Mahameghavahans of Kalinga till the first century A.D." (89.p.56)

Gupta, 1977 interprets the Guntupalli inscription differently. On the basis of the Jataka literature, he places the Mahisaka country about the present Chandrapur district of Maharashtra. According to him, "The ruler mentioned in the inscription as *Kalihga-Mahisakadhipati* perhaps is not identical with Kharabela who is mentioned only as *Kalingadhipati* in his Hathigumpha inscription as well as in his queen's Mancapuri inscription; although at both the places the ruler is Mahameghavahana. The title *Kalinga-mahisakadhiipati* suggests that Mahisaka was a region abutting on Kalinga and it was annexed to Kalinga by some successor of Kharabela. (133.p.80) However, as reported in Puranas, this territory continued to be ruled by the lords of Kalinga till fourth century A.D.

These numismatic, epigraphic and literary sources make Guhasiva's Kalinga an extensive and prosperous territory comprising present Odisha, parts of West Bengal, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra.

DANTAPURA – GUHASIVA'S CAPITAL

Dathavamsa mentions Dantapura as the capital of Kalinga during the reign of Brahmadatta in fifth century B.C. The chronicle, again in early fourth century A.D., refers it as the capital of Guhasiva. Several Buddhist Jatakas like the *Kurudhamma Jataka*, the *Kumbhakara Jataka*, the *Chulla-Kalinga Jataka*, and *Kalinga-bodhi Jataka* also refer Dantapura as the capital of Kalinga (114.p.146) Dantapura is however mentioned in the *Maha-Govinda Suttanta* of the *Digha Nikaya* that describes the past life of Gautama Buddha, indicating the existence of the city in pre-Buddhist period. Perhaps after the disastrous invasion of Kalinga by Mahapadma Nanda in fourth century B.C. the city was relegated to obscurity. Mahapadma Nanda took away the image of Kalinga Jina that was brought back by Kharabela after three hundred years and, maybe, fearing such ill-treatment, the followers of Buddhism would have preferred to conceal the 'Tooth Relic' and downplayed its worship. Asoka, on occupation of Kalinga in the third century B.C. split the country and established two seats of governance, one at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar and the other at Jaugada in Ganjam. Change in centres of administration shadowed the importance of Dantapura as the city of Buddhist tradition.

The capital of Kalinga, from Asoka's time, continued to be around Bhubaneswar. Historians suggest the capital of Asoka's Tosali in the third century B.C. was somewhere around Dhauli. Emperor Mahameghavahana Kharabela in the first century B.C. named his capital as 'Kalinganagari' which has been identified with Sishupalagada situated north of Dhauli across the river Daya in Bhubaneswar. Excavations of Sishupalagada in 1948 by Archaeological Survey of India have brought to light that the city was in formative stage during the period 300-200 B. C. (89.p.48). Its defence walls were erected at the beginning of the second century B.C. The ancient city was roughly square on plan and

was protected on all sides by a rampart and pierced by two elaborate gateways on each side. (80.p.01) The findings of excavation provide evidence that the culture of the site had reached its height between the period from 200 BC to 100 A.D., and the deterioration started taking place around 100 A.D. to 200 A.D. (83.p.07) Interestingly, the defences were in a good condition till mid-first century A.D. and thereafter neglected, coinciding perhaps with the decline of the Mahameghavahanas. (05.p.438)

The archaeological findings make it explicitly obvious that the capital of Kalinga was shifted from Sishupalagada of Bhubaneswar in second century A.D., when Murundas occupied Kalinga. It coincides with Ptolemy reporting a city named Minnagara (74.p.70) in north coastal Odisha near the mouth of Dosaron, suggesting the rule of Indo-Scythian Murundas in Kalinga. According to Wilfred H. Schoff, 1912, these capital cities resumed their former names after the collapse of the Indo-Scythian power. Minnagara of Kalinga has been identified to be a location somewhere near Jajpur. Guhasiva belonging to Murunda family might have governed from this city.

However, Dantapura, the capital of Guhasiva mentioned in Dathavamsa has been variously suggested by different historians. Several attempts have been made since nineteenth century by scholars to identify the place but their efforts have ended in proposing different locations in Odisha, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. These locations are mostly based on analogous place names with varying degree of archaeological or epigraphic evidence and hence not convincing. In most of these proposals, the extent of Guhasiva's territory and the period of his rule have been grossly overlooked.

Alexander Cunningham, 1871, proposed Dantapura near Rajahmundry in Andhra Pradesh on the north bank of river

Godavari. He was very much guided by Pliny's statement that 'the territory of the *Calingae* extended as far as the promontory of Calingon and the town of Dandaguda, or Dandagula, which is said to be 625 Roman miles, or 574 British miles, from the mouth of the Ganges.' (02.p.517) Taking into account the distance and similarity in name, Cunningham assumes the town *Dandaguda*, or *Dandagula*, to be Dantapura of Buddhist chronicles, and with much probability locates it near Rajahmundry. He confuses Pliny's '*Mount Maleus* of *Calingae*' with Mount Mahendra of south Odisha; whereas *Mount Maleus* has been identified with Mount Malyagiri (Malayagiri) of Pallahada in central Odisha. Besides, the region Rajahmundry was not a part of Guhasiva's Kalinga in third – fourth century A.D.

Some scholars place Dantapura in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. B.V. Krishna Rao, 1929, identified Dantapura with the ruins of an old city near Amuldalavalse and Chicacole (Srikakulam) station which is still known as Dantavuram. (05.p.651) Kanungo, 1993, identified it with the village Danta near Tekkali in Srikakulam district. The village is associated with a cluster of caves. (05.p.653) Satyanarayana Rajguru, 1985, suggests it to be near Barua (Baruva) village on the mouth of river Mahendratanaya in Srikakulam district. (68.p.299) A. P. Patnaik, 2003, reports that 'after examining several spots in the field that are identical with "Danta" he discovered the ruins of an ancient brick-stupa at the village 'Danta' under the P.S. Tekkali of the district Srikakulam. He considers it as the 'original Danta-stupa' of Dantapura. (28.p.114) However all these places are south of Mahendra mountain and may be outside the southern boundary of Guhasiva's domain.

Some copperplate grants, mentioning Dantapura /Dantipura as the place of issue, have been discovered in the region south of Mahendra Mountain. This perhaps prompted

the scholars to propose Guhasiva's Dantapura in coastal stretch of northern Andhra Pradesh. But these grants were issued between sixth and eleventh century A. D. by the rulers of Eastern Ganga dynasty and by their vassals, who named their capital as Dantapura and subsequently as Kalinganagara.

The history of Kalinga after Guhasiva remains sketchy. In fact, the great country was divided into a number of independent and sovereign kingdoms. By the latter half of sixth century A. D., western Odisha with portions of Chhattisgarh was known as 'South Kosala' and was under the rule of Sarabhapuriyas. The area north of Mahanadi up to Medinipur was the 'Odra Vishaya' or 'Tosali' and was being ruled by Mudgalas in sixth and seventh century and later by Bhaumakaras with capital near Jajpur. (89.p.86) Sailodbhavas established a principality in coastal Odisha extending from south of Mahanadi to Mahendragiri. This territory was known as 'Kongoda'. It was so named probably because it contained parts of Kalinga and Oda (Odra) and the word Kalingoda, thus formed, came to be known as Kongoda in common use. Its capital was Kongoda-vasaka on the bank of the river Salima which may be identified with the present rivulet Salia flowing into the Chilika lake. (89.p.99)

The territory south of Mahendra retained the name Kalinga but was divided into three small principalities. The southernmost part was the kingdom of Durjayas or the Ram Kasyapas. Its capital was located at Pistapura or modern Pithapuram. The middle Kalinga was under the Eastern Gangas whereas the northern Kalinga, known as Kalingarastra, was under the rule of the Vigrahas. (89.p.86) Eastern Gangas, the rulers of middle Kalinga, had issued a number of grants from Dantapura/Dantipura and Kalinganagara.

The first recorded ruler of the Eastern Ganga dynasty was Indravarman-I, whose Jirjingi copperplate grant was issued in

the Ganga year 39, i.e., 537 A.D., from his capital located at Dantapura. (89.p.81) But the third ruler of this dynasty Hastivarman, also known as Rajsimha alias Ranabhita, transferred his capital from Dantapura to Kalinganagara on the river Vamsadhara. (89.p.82) However, Dantapura continued as an important fort and was kept in charge of *Mandalika* (vassal) to protect the eastern boundary of the kingdom. (68.p.359) The grants issued from Dantapura, is listed in table below:

Name of the Grant	Period of Issue	References
Jirjingi plates of Indravarman-I	Ganga era 39 = 537 A.D.	47.p.04; 68.p.308; 89.p.81
Purle Plates of Indravarman III	Ganga era 149 = 647 A.D.	47.p.53; 68.p.315
Ponduru plates of Vajrahastadeva	tenth century A.D.	47.p.181; 68.p.347
Andhavaram plates of Vajrahasta	tenth century A. D.	47.p.193; 68.p.347
Madagrama grant of Ranaka Bhimakhedi of the time of Devendravarman	Saka 988 = 1066 A.D.	47.p.217; 68.p.359
Kambakaya plates of Udayaditya of the time of Devendravarma	Saka 1003 = 1081 A.D.	47.p.221; 68.p.359
Narasapatam Plates of Vajrahasta III	Saka 967 = 1045 A. D.	32.XI.p.149; 68.p.68

The kings and vassals, who issued the above grants, ruled over a narrowly circumscribed region which they called Kalinga. They were hemmed by the Eastern Chalukyas in the south and by the Sailodbhavas in the north. (89.p.85) Being fascinated by the celebrated capital names of the prosperous and powerful Kalinga, they might have adopted Dantapura and Kalinganagara as the names of their new capitals. But that Kalinga was neither the Kalinga of Guhasiva nor that Dantapura his capital.

Sylvain Levi, 1929, attempted to explain the 'Paloura' of Ptolemy as a Dravidian rendering of the word 'Dantapura'. According to him the word '*pallu'* in Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam means "tooth" (Danta) and the Dravidian word '*ur'* is used for "city" (Pura); and thus Paloura can be the "city of tooth"; Dantapura, in the country of Kalinga. (95.p.164) Paloura of Ptolemy has been identified with the modern village Palur in Ganjam district of Odisha and for its geographical positioning near the Mahendra Mountain, some of the scholars have lent support to the interpretation of Prof. Levi. However, analysing the copperplate inscriptions issued by the ancient rulers and chieftains of south Odisha, Dr. Satyanarayana Rajguru, 1985, observes that till tenth century A.D. the language of this region was Odra Prakrit, and was not influenced by Dravidian language. (68.p.339) Prof. Levi's view has also been contradicted by B.V. Krisnarao. (68.p.89) Ptolemy mentions 'Paloura' in second century A. D., whereas the name 'Dantapura' continued to be used by different dynasties in Kalinga even after the tooth relic was transferred to Sri Lanka. The question arises, what was the necessity of changing a legendary place name of Kalinga from Odra Prakrit to Dravidian language? This may be an accidental connotation of a Dravidian term. And for Guhasiva's capital, Palur, at the southernmost part of his domain, would not be a preferred location.

Considering the similarities in name, Nando Lal Dev construes that Dantapura was situated at 'Dantan/Dantun' a village in *Paschim* Medinipur district of West Bengal. (68.p.66) Rajendra Lal Mitra, 1880, and Nagendranath Vasu, 1911, have also referred to this identification. But the local people circulate a myth claiming the origin of the name of village 'Dantan' to Sri Chaitanya's toothbrush (*dantun*), which he was said to have thrown at this village on his way to Jagannatha Puri. (134.p.26) Pattanaik, A. P., 2003, while disagreeing with such an

interpretation, observes that "There are several places in Odisha with names which begin with the term 'Danta' and all these places cannot be the ancient sites of Dantapura." (28.p.112) He provides a list of Place Names analogous to Dantapura (28.p.167), which is reproduced below:

Sl. No.	State	District	Police Station	Present Name	Probable Original Name
1	Odisha	Ganjam	Aska	Dantari-Bagada	Dantapuri-Bagada
2	Odisha	Mayurbhanj	Badasahi	Dantuni	Danta
3	Odisha	Keonjhar	Ramachandrapur	Dantia	Danta
4	Odisha	Angul	Kishore-nagar	Dantunipal	Danta palli
5	Odisha	Dhenkanal	Rasol	Dantapal	Danta palli
6	Odisha	Jagatsinghapur	Balikuda	Dantual	Danta palli
7	Odisha	Koraput	Mathili	Dantipoda	Danta pada
8	Odisha	Koraput	Kalyansinpur	Dantalinga	Danta linga
9	Odisha	Phulbani	Phiringia	Dantura	Danta pura
10	Odisha	Baudh	Baudh	Dantapali	Danta palli
11	Odisha	Baudh	Baudh	Dantapali	Danta palli
12	Odisha	Sambalpur	Jujomara	Dantari	Danta puri
13	Odisha	Sambalpur	Katarbaga	Dantamura	Danta pura
14	Odisha	Deogarh	Deogarh	Dantaribahal	Dantapuri bahal
15	Odisha	Nayagarh	Odagaon	Dantura	Danta pura
16	West Bengal	Medinipur	Dantun	Dantun	Danta
17	Andhra	Srikakulam	Tikali	Danta	Danta
18	Andhra	Srikakulam	Sadar	Dantavaram kota	Danta pura koti

Replication of place-names is an age-old practice and is continuing till today. New establishments are frequently named with old place names of importance. People migrating to a

different locality prefer to retain their native place/country name. From ancient times till date we come across with similar place names in different parts of the world. In the absence of supporting historical evidence relying upon such analogous names would bring in incongruity.

Another myth has been floated claiming the "*Brahma*" inside the image of Lord Jagannatha to be the 'Tooth-relic' of Gautama Buddha. Hunter, 1872, says that Puri, the cradle land of Jagannatha was the place where Buddha's tooth-relic was kept and afterwards removed to Ceylon. (05.p.653) Sir Charles Eliot, 1921, suggests a striking similarity between the Buddhist rites and the annual Car festival of Lord Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra at Puri. At the same time he opines that Dantapura of Kalinga is however mentioned in some verses quoted in *Digha Nikaya* xix. 36., and hence the name might be pre-Buddhist. (35.III.p.25-26) However, there is neither any historical record, nor any archaeological evidence to support Puri as the capital of Guhasiva's Kalinga.

Prusty, et al. 2000, have proposed to identify Dantapura, the capital of ancient Kalinga with the present day Radhanagar in Jajpur district of Odisha. This identification is based on literary sources and most importantly on their archaeological field-work carried out between 1993 and 1995 around Radhanagar region. (05.p.651) Radhanagar (Kankia, Pin: 755008) is located in the midst of a cluster of villages of high population density on the right bank of river Kelua (Kimiria), a tributary of Brahmani, about 90km north of Bhubaneswar. The site is connected to Jaraka, a small town located on National Highway-16 through a motorable road. (05.p.509)

Fig. 2.8 Location of Radhanagar in Google Map

Recent excavation in Radhanagar (Kankia) by the Odishan Institute of Maritime and South East Asian Studies (OIMSEAS) has yielded significant archaeological evidence to demonstrate the existence of an early historic urban centre in the region. On the basis of ceramic assemblage and antiquities, the fortified urban settlement has been dated to the period between the third century B.C. and third century A.D. (135.p.02). The place is surrounded by early Buddhist heritage sites like Kayama, Langudi, Tarapur, Deuli, Neulapur and Vajragiri. The close proximity to the sea had enabled the site for the maritime trade with various urban centres and port sites of South and Southeast Asia. It is quite possible that Radhanagar was one of the important centres from where Buddhist ideology might have spread to Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka. (05.p.511)

The discovery of the remarkable hoards of various coins from Radhanagar-Kotapur-Dharmasala area across the right bank of Kelua – Brahmani, numismatically corroborates that Radhanagar was an important international river port and commercial stronghold (bastion) along with a veritable centre of Buddhism right from early centuries B.C. down to the third century A.D. and it was again revived during the Bhaumakara's

time up to the late medieval period. (05.p.657) The surface finds, structural remains unearthed during excavation and the archaeological potentiality of the region have led the scholars to identify Radhanagar as the ancient capital of Kalinga. However, the authors have emphasized that the present report is of a preliminary nature and as such, no final conclusion can be drawn. (05.p.660)

GUHASIVA'S PATAKA

A place named 'Guhadeva Pataka' and subsequently 'Guhesvara Pataka' occurs in most of the copperplate inscriptions of Bhaumakara family that ruled Odisha from the eighth to mid-tenth century A.D. Bhaumakaras named their domain as "Tosali" or "Tosala", a term used for the first time by Asoka at Dhauli, Bhubaneswar a millennium before. The rulers of Bhaumakara dynasty professed Mahayana Buddhism. They patronised the growth of Vajrayana and Tantrayana Buddhism and established large number of monastic institutions. They also constructed many temples and made land grant to hundreds of Brahmans. The royal family adopted a more secular approach and equally sponsored Saivism and Vaisnavism. (16.p.109)

Twenty-four epigraphic records of Bhaumakara family, nineteen copper-plate grants and five stone inscriptions, have been discovered so far. Most of these grants begin with a verse containing the description of charms of 'Guhesvara Pataka'. The city, otherwise known as Guhadeva Pataka, was the capital of the Bhaumakara kings of Odisha and is actually mentioned in many of their documents. It has been referred to as a place where the victorious *skandhavara* of the reigning monarch is said to have been situated. The word *skandhavara* originally indicated 'a camp, but later also 'a royal city or capital'. (32.XXIX.p.81) Dr. Rajguru, 1985, advocates that the ancient capital of

Bhaumakara dynasty was at Biranjanagara (present Jajpur) on the bank of river Baitarani. Subsequently it was shifted to Subhadeva Pataka. (68.p.442) The Neulpur grant of Subhakaradeva-I (780-800 A.D.) was issued from the victorious palace at Subhadeva Pataka, (*Subhadevapatakat Jayaskandhavarat*) on the 23rd day of Margasirsha, in the 8th year of his reign. (32.XV.p.02-03) But the Chaurasi copperplate grant issued by his successor Sivakaradeva-II (800-820 A.D.) was from Guhadeva Pataka. (68.p.416) Probably during the reign of Sivakaradeva-II the name of the capital city was changed to "Guhadeva Pataka" and latter on to "Guhesvara Pataka". (68.p.442)

The change of name from Subhadeva Pataka to Guhadeva Pataka by a ruling dynasty that called themselves "*Parama-Tathagata*", meaning the "devout (worshipper) of the Tathagata"; brings in some connection of the family with the Buddhist king Guhasiva of Dathavamsa fame. Such a relationship is also found in Vishnu Purana. While Brahmanda Purana and Vayu Purana record that king Guha will rule the region comprising Kalinga, Mahisa and Mahendra in early fourth century A.D.; the Vishnu Purana reports the name of the king differently. Part 4-chapter 24-verse 65 of Vishnu Purana says:

कलिङ्गमाहिषमहेन्द्रभौमान् गुहा भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ ६५ ॥

[Vishnu Purana, 4-24-65]

Kalinga-Mahisa-Mahendra Bhauman Guha bhoksyanti

[*Meaning:* Bhauma Guha will enjoy the Kalinga, Mahisa, and Mahendra region]

The verse implies that Guha (Guhasiva) the king of Kalinga in early fourth century A.D. was from Bhauma lineage. The Neulpur grant of Subhakaradeva-I also mentions that their ancestry was from the race of Bhauma (abhud bhupatir

Bhaumanvayad janma) (32.XV.p.03) In the latter grants of Tribhuvanamahadevi and Dandimahadevi they called themselves descendants of the family of Karas (Asid Vamse Karanam). (32.XXIX.p.216) It seems that Guhasiva and Karas had the common ancestry, the 'Bhaumas'. Analysing the relationship, Dr. N. K. Sahu et.al, 2010, opine that Guha of puranic tradition 'might have been the progenitor of Bhaumakaras of Tosali. The capital of Bhaumakaras was named Guhadeva or Guhesvara Pataka in tribute to their illustrious ancestor.' (89.p.110) 'Guhasiva, Guhadeva and Guhesvara being synonymous expressions, it is not unlikely that Guhasiva's capital should have become known as Guhesvara Pataka or Guhadeva Pataka.' (56.p.51)

This Guhadeva or Guhesvara Pataka has been identified with Gohira Tikiri, a place near village Khadipada and at close proximity of Jajpur and Dhamanagar. Few scholars have suggested the location to be at Godhanesvar Patana and/or Rajnagar near Jajpur. But Gohira Tikiri has been widely accepted as the correct identification of the capital city. (21.p.128)

Fig. 2.9 Gohira Tikiri in Google Map

The village Khadipada is a famous Mahayanic site. A few colossal and life size images of Buddha and Bodhisattva have been recovered from this place and brought to the Odisha State museum. Still a number of images are found lying in the locality inside the mounds of debris which suggests a Buddhist stupa stood at this site in the ancient past. (17.p.70) The nearby town to the north is Dhamanagar; the name is probably derived from Pali name 'Dhamma Nagara' meaning the city of Dhamma.

RELIC WORSHIP AROUND JAJPUR

In the entire domain of Guhasiva's Kalinga, from river Kasai in north to Mahendra in south, Buddhist heritage sites, caityas and stupas have largely been discovered in the region around Jajpur. The earliest, rather the first relic stupa of Buddhist tradition was built in this part of the world. According to early Vinaya texts two merchants of Ukkala – Tapassu and Bhallika – became the first lay disciples of the Buddha. These two merchants, on their way to Madhyadesa (central India) with five hundred trading carts, met the Buddha under rajayatana tree on the last day of the seventh week after his Enlightenment. Being directed to pay reverence to the Buddha by a spirit of their departed relative, they readily obeyed and offered him rice-cakes and honey. As related in the commentary of the Anguttara-Nikaya, the Buddha gave them eight handfuls of his hair which the merchants took home to their native city (Asitanjana) where they deposited that in a magnificent caitya erected for this purpose. According to the commentary of the Theragatha these two merchants also visited the Buddha at Rajagrha. In time, Tapassu became a sotapanna and, as a devachikaupasaka was included in the list of eminent upasakas while Bhallika entered the sangha and became an arhat. The Pujavaliya of Sri Lanka records that Tapassu and Bhallika, sometime after their conversion, visited the east coast of Sri Lanka where they erected a caitya to commemorate their visit. (40.p.01)

The Pali word "Ukkala" of the Buddhist literature is undoubtedly a variant of Sanskrit "Utkala" that forms the part of present Odisha. However, some texts identify Ukkala as a city in Irrawaddy delta of Myanmar (Burma) and some others place it in the Swat valley of Gandhara. Such speculations lack merit for the fact that Buddhism has not penetrated into these territories during the lifetime of the Buddha. For about two hundred years of its beginning, the teachings of Gautama remained confined to few kingdoms of India including Magadha, Kosala and Kalinga. 'It is with Asoka that one might begin the history of Buddhism outside India.' (12.p.48) After his conversion to new faith after the Kalinga war, Asoka decided to hold the third Buddhist Council at Pataliputra to determine the true nature of the Dhamma, and to banish those who would not adhere to it. Apparently, after this Council, it was decided to send religious missions to various countries. (97.p.59) Inscriptions of Asoka and Buddhist literary sources inform that such missions were sent to Gandhara, Kashmir, kingdoms in the Himalayan regions in the North; to Sri Lanka, South East Asia and to several Western countries such as Syria, Egypt and Macedonia.

As regards Burma, scholars advance two accounts of the advent of Buddhism. 'In the first place it is said that, after the council of Asoka, two men were sent here as missionaries. The accuracy of this account is not to be doubted. On the other hand, Burmese tradition attributes the introduction of Buddhism to the celebrated Buddhaghosa, an ardent adherent of the faith, who lived in Sri Lanka in the fifth century A.D.' (12.p.68)

In Odisha, Buddhism was already in practice much before Asoka's initiation to the faith. Asoka, in his thirteenth Rock Edict himself mentions of *Sramanas* (Buddhist monks) living in Odisha (Kalinga) along with Brahmanas and the adherents of other sects who suffered injury and loss of life during the war. Hiuen Tsiang's travel report does mention that Buddha had

preached in Odisha (Odra). Recent excavations at Langudi by the Orissa Institute of Maritime and Southeast Asian Studies, Bhubaneswar, have unearthed archaeological finds which suggest that the site is contemporary to Bodh Gaya and Sanchi (17.p.29); confirming the fact that Buddhism had made inroads into Odisha during the life time of Gautama Buddha.

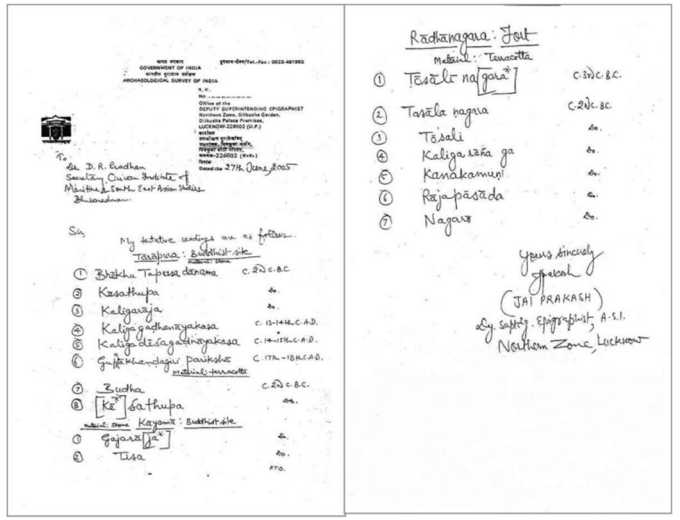
The merchants – Tapassu and Bhallika – were proceeding with five hundred trading carts to Central India through Bihar. No other source reports trade caravans in this route either from Myanmar or Swat valley. In Buddha's days, the fifth or sixth century B.C., Swat valley was on the Silk-Trade route and Myanmar (Burma) had trade link with North-East India. Odisha was very well connected with Bihar, the land of Enlightenment of the Buddha, through land route that was used by Mahapadma Nanda in the fourth century B.C. and Asoka Maurya in the third century B.C. to march their army to Kalinga. In the first century B.C., the well-organised army of Kalingadhipati Kharabela, consisting of the conventional four divisions, e.g, cavalry (*haya*), elephant (*gaja*), infantry (*nara*) and chariot (*radha*, i.e., *ratha*), marched on the same route to vanquish Magadha (Bihar) and other kingdoms of north India. The trade caravan of Tapassu and Bhallika was passing through that route, whence they met the 'Awakened One' on the last day of the seventh week after his Enlightenment.

The "Rice Cake" offered to the Buddha is a speciality of Odisha, known as '*Arisha-pitha*', prepared from rice flour, clarified butter and cane sugar. This sweetmeat can be stored for months without preservatives or refrigeration and is thus suitable for long distance journey.

Exploration by the Orissa Institute of Maritime and Southeast Asian Studies, Bhubaneswar, in 2005 has discovered an ancient stupa at the top of a hillock in village Tarapur, having inscriptions in the early Brahmi character.

Fig. 2.10 'Arisha-pitha'

The inscriptions were deciphered by the eminent epigraphist Dr. J. Jayaprakash, Archaeological Survey of India, which is reproduced below:



Radhanagara: Jaut
Mathura: Tenacotta
① Tosali nagara c.2nd c. B.C.
② Tosala nagara c.2nd c. BC.
③ Tosali do.
④ Kaliga vana ga do.
⑤ Kanakamuni do.
⑥ Rajapasada do.
⑦ Nagara do.

Yours sincerely
(JAI PRAKASH)
Dy. Supdg. Epigraphist, A.S.I.
Northern Zone, Lucknow

Fig. 2.11 ASI Letter on Kesathupa

The writings in early Brahmi character has been translated as "*Kesathupa*" and "*Bhikhu Tapusa danam*"; indicating that the ancient stupa was built to enshrine the "Hair Relic" of the Buddha received by Tapassu and Bhallika.

Fig. 2.12 The Kesathupa at Tarapur

'The stupa at Tarapur is devoid of any cult images belonging to Buddhism and hence it is quite clear that the place flourished as an important centre of Buddhism during the early phase.' (17.p.102) The types of burnt bricks used in this stupa also belong to early period. On the basis of inscribed stones, railings and antiquities, the date of the site is claimed to be of fifth/sixth century B.C.

Fig. 2.13 Location Tarapur in Google Map

The Kesathupa is approachable from Jaraka at National Highway No. 16 through a village road via Fatepur in Jajpur district. Tapassu and Bhallika belonged to this part of Odisha, a highly productive region between the navigable rivers Mahanadi, Brahmani and Baitarani.

Another early Buddhist establishment containing corporeal relic has been discovered at Lalitagiri (Lat 20º. 35' N and Long 86º 15' E) in Jajpur district. 'The Archaeological Survey of India, Bhubaneswar Circle, in 1985 A.D., excavated the mound at the top of Landa hill, and exposed the vestiges of a ruined *stupa*. Three small relic caskets were discovered within the core, facing east, north and west respectively, with four containers forming one set. The outer container, made of kondalite, is carved as a miniature *stupa* consisting of a lower drum portion and a hemispherical cover or dome. A socket is cut into the drum portion to accommodate a second container, a conventional casket of light grey soapstone. The third container is made of silver while the fourth, containing the *dhatu* or relic in the form of a bone, is of gold. Whereas the second set contained a bone without gold foil, the inner caskets of the third set are missing.' (40.p.54)

On the basis of the pottery, sculpture, epigraphical and numismatic objects excavated from the site, it is estimated that Lalitagiri was under occupation since the third century B.C. The sacred relic possibly may be that of Lord Buddha and his two disciples namely Sariputa and Maha Maggalana. (05.p.446)

Stupas and rock-cut images dating back to early centuries of the Christian era have also been discovered at Ratnagiri (Lat. 20º 38' N.; Long. 86º 20' E.), Udayagiri (Lat. 20º 39' N.; Long. 86º 16' E.), Langudi (Lat. 20º 43' 23" N.; Long. 86º 11' 24" E.), Kayama (Lat. 20º 45' 27" N.; Long. 86º 11' 14" E.), and Kolangiri; all situated in close proximity of Jajpur.

Fig. 2.14 Stupa at Lalitagiri

Fig.2.15. The Relic Caskets

Fig.2.16. Maha Stupa at Ratnagiri

Fig.2.17. Maha Stupa at Udayagiri

Fig.2.18. Rock cut Stupa at Langudi

These monumental remains strengthen the claim that the capital of Guhasiva was in Jajpur region.

DANTAPURA IN ODRA COUNTRY

The most plausible evidence available in this regard is the travel report of Hiuen Tsiang, the Chiese Buddhist pilgrim, who visited this part of Odisha (U-cha/ Wu-t'a or Odra) in the

seventh century A.D., and mentioned the spiritual miracle of Tooth-Relic that was transferred to Sri Lanka three hundred years ago. His travel record of Odra recounts:

"Most of the people of this country believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred sangharamas, with 10,000 priests. They all study the Great Vehicle. There are fifty Deva temples in which sectaries of all sorts make their abodes. The stupas, to the number of ten or so, point out spots where Buddha preached. They were all founded by Asoka-raja. (79.II.p.204)

Going south 20,000 li or so is the country of Simhala (Seng-kia-lo). In the still night, looking far off, we see the surmounting precious stone of the tooth-stupa of Buddha, brilliantly shining and scintillating as a bright torch burning in the air." (79.II.p.206)

The pilgrim has not mentioned Tooth-Relic in any other kingdom he visited in East Coast of India. Historians undisputedly declare Jajpur was the capital of Odra in the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsiang, visiting 300 years after transfer of the relic, might have seen the ruins of the temple of Tooth-Relic in that area and was moved to reflect his impression.

King Guhasiva belonged to Indo-Scythian Murunda dynasty, who usually named their capital as Minnagara, which coincides with Jajpur. His victorious palace at Guhesvara Pataka, identified with little north of Jajpur, and Hiuen Tsiang remembering the relic in Odra country would justify that the city of Tooth-Relic, Dantapura, was somewhere in the region between Mahanadi and Baitarani.

NOTE

* (at page 79 third paragraph) Samudra Gupta's Ceylonese contemporary was Meghavarna (Meghavanna). A Chinese historian relates that Meghavarna sent an embassy with gifts to Samudra Gupta (Samudragupta) and obtained his permission to erect a splendid monastery to the north of the holy tree at Bodh Gaya for the use of pilgrims from the Island. (72.p.281)

3

Hiuen Tsiang's Che-Li-Ta-Lo

Buddhism entered China through missionaries from India in the first century A.D. The popular Chinese legends inform that Emperor Ming (28-75 A.D.) championed the introduction of Buddhist teachings in China. 'From the books imported from India the Chinese learned the history of the founder of the new religion, and became familiar with the names of the sacred spots he had consecrated by his presence.' (79.I.p.x) Inspired with the practice of the new religion, some of the dedicated disciples desired to visit the sacred places in India and its neighbouring countries. These passionate priests undertook the risk of travelling by desert, mountain and sea to visit India, learn Sanskrit, collect authentic literatures, practice Yoga and acquire knowledge from the eminent teachers of Buddhism.

'The discovery of several stone tablets with Chinese inscriptions at Bodh Gaya and the writings of I-tsing provide the evidence that a number of monks from China, whose names are unknown from any other source, visited the sacred Bodhi-Tree, much before to those whose records are available to us.' (79.I.p.x) 'The first Chinese traveller whose name and writings have come down to us is the Sakyaputra Fa-hian. In agreement with early custom, the Chinese mendicant priests who adopted the Buddhist faith changed their names at the time of their ordination, and assumed the title of *Sakyaputras*, sons or mendicants of *Sakya*. The pilgrim Fa-hian, therefore, whose

original name was Kung when he assumed the religious title by which he is known to us, took also the appellation of Shih or the *Sakyaputra*, the disciple or son of *Sakya*. He was a native of Wu-Yang of the district of Ping-Yang in the province of Shan-si.' (79.I.p.xi) He was moved by a desire to obtain books not known in China, and with that aim set out in company with other priests (some of whom are named in the records) from Chang'an, in 399 A.D. 'His journey, which lasted about sixteen years (399-414 A.D.), was detailed in his Fo-kue-ki. Next followed the travels of Sun-yun and Hwui-seng in 518 A.D. Unfortunately, however, their narrative is very short, and not to be compared with that of the other travelers.' Later, in 629 A.D., the famous Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, came to India. "His travels in India and its neighbouring countries covered some seventeen years (629-645 A.D.). Anything that came under his notice was fully recorded in his work, known as '*Si-yu-ki*, the *Buddhist Record of the Western World*', which is an indispensable text-book for Indian history and geography." (92.p.xvii)

HIUEN TSIANG

Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, is variously named by different authors: e.g. Stanislas Julien spells the name as *Hiouen Thsang*, Mayers as *Huan Chwang*, Mr. Wylie as *Yuen Chwang*, Prof. Legge as *Hsuan Chwang*, Prof. Bunyiu Nanjio as *Hhuen Kwan* and Mr. Beal as *Hiuen Tsiang*. (137.I.p.xi) Many prefer to call him as 'Xuanzang'. Other names that are frequently met with are Hsüan-tsang, Táng-sānzàng, Hiouen Thsang, Hsien-tsang, Hsyan-tsang, Hsuan Chwang, Hsuan Tsiang, Xuan Zang, Shuen Shang, Yuan Chang, and Yuen Chwang. However, in this chapter, we opted for the name 'Hiuen Tsiang' in harmony with English translation of Si-Yu-Ki by Samuel Beal.

'Hiuen Tsiang was born in the year 603 A.D., at Ch'in Liu, in the province of Ho-nan, close to the provincial city. He was the youngest of four brothers. At an early age he was taken by his second brother, Changtsi, to the eastern capital, Lo-yang. His brother was a monk belonging to the Tsing-tu temple, and in that community Hiuen Tsiang was ordained at the age of thirteen. At the age of twenty he was fully ordained as a *Bhikshu* or priest. After some time he began to travel through the provinces in search of the best instructor he could get, and so came at last to Chang'an. It was there, stirred up by the recollection of Fa-hian and Chi-yen, that he resolved to go to the western regions to question the sages on points that troubled his mind. At the age of twenty-six, in 629 A.D., he set out from Chang'an for his journey to India to seek for the law.' (79.I.p.xviii)

'The illustrious pilgrim entered Kabul from Tibet, about the end of May, 630 A.D., and after many wanderings and several long halts, crossed the Indus in April of the following year. He spent several months in Taxila for the purpose of visiting the holy places of Buddhism, and then proceeded to Kashmir, where he stayed for two whole years to study some of the more learned works of his religion. On his journey eastward he visited places of pilgrimage including Jalandhar, Mathura, Thaneswar [in Kurukshetra District of Haryana], Rohilkhand [near present Bareilly], Kannauj, Kosambi [near Allahabad], Ayodhya and Sravasti. From there, he resumed his easterly route to visit the scenes of the Buddha's birth and death at Kapilavastu and Kushinagar; and once more returned to the westward to the holy city of Banaras where the Buddha first began to teach his religion. Again resuming his easterly route he visited the famous city of Vaisali in Tirhut, from where he

crossed the Ganges to the ancient city of Pataliputra, [Patna in Bihar].' (02.p.ix-x)

From Patna, he proceeded to Gaya to offer worship at numerous holy places including the sacred Bodhi-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) at Bodh Gaya, under which Buddha meditated for enlightenment, and the craggy hill of Giriyak, where Buddha explained principles of the new faith to God Indra. He next visited the ancient cities of Rajagriha, the early capitals of Magadha, (now Rajgir in Nalanda district of Bihar), and the great monastery of Nalanda, where he halted for fifteen months to study the Sanskrit language. Towards the end of 638 A.D. he resumed his easterly journey and visited the ancient kingdoms of North-Bihar, North-Bengal, Bangladesh and the North-East including Assam, then known as Kamarupa. From Assam he came down to Samatata, an ancient kingdom in coastal Bangladesh and from there to Tamralipti, (present Tamluk), and Karnasuvarna, the capital of Gauda in the seventh century which is at present a part of Murshidabad district of West Bengal.

In early 639 A.D., he came from Karnasubarna to 'Odra', the north Odisha, from there to 'Kongoda', the central Odisha, to 'Kalinga' then south Odisha and Kosala, the western Odisha. Resuming his southerly course he passed through Andhra and Telengana to Amaravathi on the Krishna River, where he spent many months studying Buddhist literature.

After visiting the southern and western India, Hiuen Tsiang returned to Patna in early parts of 643 A.D. There he attended the Quinquennial Assembly organised by Harsavardhana and accompanied him to Kannauj. At Kannauj he took leave of Harsavardhana, to resume his return journey through Jalandhar. He carried with him many statues and a large

number of religious books. He crossed the Indus towards the end of 643 A.D.

'In all the districts through which he journeyed he learnt thoroughly the dialects; investigated throughout the deep secrets of religion and penetrated to the very source of the stream.' (79.I.p.05)

Hiuen Tsiang returned from his Indian travels across the Pamir Mountains through Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kashgar of western China. He had been away from China since 629 A.D. and returned home in 645 A.D., carrying with him:

1. Five hundred grains of relics belonging to the body (flesh) of Tathagata.
2. A golden statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
3. A statue of Buddha carved out of sandal-wood on a transparent pedestal. This figure is a copy of the statue which Udayana, king of Kausambi, had made.
4. A similar statue of sandal-wood, copy of the figure made after Buddha descended from the Trayastrimsas heaven.
5. A silver statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
6. A golden statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
7. A sandal-wood figure of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
8. One hundred and twenty-four works (sutras) of the Great Vehicle.
9. Other works, amounting in the whole to 520 fasciculi, carried by twenty-two horses. (79.I.p.xx)

The sutras and statues carried by Hiuen Tsiang are said to have been preserved in the Giant Wild Goose Pagoda, UNESCO World Heritage site, located in southern Xian, Shaanxi province, China.

Fig.3.1 Giant Wild Goose Pagoda

On his return to China, Hiuen Tsiang was greeted with much honour. 'Never in the history of China did Buddhist monk receive such a joyous ovation as that with which he was welcomed. The Emperor and his Court, the officials and merchants, and all the people made holiday. The streets were crowded with eager men and women who expressed their joy by gay banners and festive music. Now he had arrived whole and well, and had become a many days' wonder. He had been where no other had ever been, he had seen and heard what no other had ever seen and heard.' (137.I.p.11-12)

'The Emperor persuaded Hiuen Tsiang to give up the religious life and to take office, but he refused all high civil appointments. As soon as he could he withdrew to a monastery and addressed himself to the work of translating into Chinese his Indian books. On his petition, the Emperor appointed

several distinguished scholars and several learn'ed monks to assist in translating, editing, and copying. In the meantime at the request of his Sovereign, Hiuen Tsiang compiled the Records of his travels, the Hsi-yu-chi (Si Yu Ki).' (137.I.p.12)

JOURNEY OF THE EASTERN STATES

'At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, in the seventh century, India was divided into eighty kingdoms, each of which would appear to have had its separate ruler, although most of them were tributary to a few of the greater states.' (02.p.13) The pilgrim visited almost all the important cities and states throughout the country and earnestly described the landscape, the culture, economy, religious faith, martial strength, the resources and the general lifestyle of the people. However, the discussion here is limited to only few territories concerning Odisha and its neighbourhood. The excerpts from 'Si-Yu-Ki' for these states, as translated by Samuel Beal, 1884, are reproduced below:

Samatata (San-Mo-Ta-Cha); [Presently the coastal part of Bangladesh]

This country is about 3000 li in circuit and borders on the great sea. The land lies low and is rich. The capital is about 20 li round. It is regularly cultivated, and is rich in crops, and the flowers and fruits grow everywhere. The climate is soft and the habits of the people agreeable. The men are hardy by nature, small of stature, and of black complexion; they are fond of learning, and exercise themselves diligently in the acquirement of it. There are professors (believers) both of false and true doctrines. There are thirty or so *sangharamas* with about 2000 priests. They are all of the Sthavira (Shang-tso-pu) school. There are some hundred Deva temples, in which sectaries of all kinds live. The naked ascetics called Nirgranthas (Ni-kien) are most numerous.

Not far out of the city is a stupa which was built by Asoka-raja. In this place Tathagata in former days preached the deep and mysterious law for seven days for the good of the Devas. By the side of it are traces where the four Buddhas sat and walked for exercise.

From Samatata going west 900 li or so, we reach the country of Tan-Mo-Li-Ti (Tamralipti). (79.II.p. 199-200)

Tamralipti (Tan-Mo-Li-Ti); [Presently Tamluk in West Bengal]

This country is 1400 or 1500 li in circuit, the capital about 10 li. It borders on the sea. The ground is low and rich; it is regularly cultivated, and produces flowers and fruits in abundance. The temperature is hot. The manners of the people are quick and hasty. The men are hardy and brave. There are both heretics and believers. There are about ten sangharamas, with about 1000 priests. The Deva temples are fifty in number, in which various sectaries dwell mixed together. The coast of this country is formed by (or in) a recess of the sea; the water and the land embracing each other. Wonderful articles of value and gems are collected here in abundance, and therefore the people of the country are in general very rich. By the side of the city is a stupa which was built by Asoka-raja; by the side of it are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked.

Going from this north-west 700 li or so, we come to the country Kie-Lo-Na-Su-Fa-La-Na (Karnasuvarna). (79.II.p.200-01)

Karnasuvarna (Kie-Lo-Na-Su-Fa-La-Na); [Presently Murshidabad area/Manbhum area of West Bengal]

This kingdom is about 1400 or 1500 li in circuit; the capital is about 20 li. It is thickly populated. The householders are very

(rich and in ease). The land lies low and is loamy. It is regularly cultivated, and produces an abundance of flowers, with valuables numerous and various. The climate is agreeable; the manners of the people honest and amiable. They love learning exceedingly, and apply themselves to it with earnestness. There are believers and heretics alike amongst them. There are ten sangharamas or so, with about 2000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle of the Sammatiya (Chingtiang-pii) school. There are fifty Deva temples. The heretics are very numerous. Besides these there are three sangharamas in which they do not use thickened milk (*u lok*), following the directions of Devadatta (Ti-p'o-ta-to).

By the side of the capital is the sangharama called Lo-to-wei-chi (Raktaviti or red mud), the halls of which are light and spacious, the storeyed towers very lofty. In this establishment congregate all the most distinguished, learned, and celebrated men of the kingdom. They strive to promote each other's advancement by exhortations, and to perfect their character.

By the side of the sangharama, and not far off, is a stupa which was built by Asoka-raja. When Tathagata was alive in the world he preached here for seven days, explaining (the law) and guiding (men). By the side of it is a vihara; here there are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down and walked. There are several other stupas in places where Buddha explained the excellent law. These were built by Asoka-raja.

Going from this 700 li or so in a south-westerly direction, we come to the country of U-Cha. (79.II.p.201-204)

Odra (U-Cha)

This country is 7000 li or so in circuit; the capital city is about 20 li round. The soil is rich and fertile, and it produces abundance of grain, and every kind of fruit is grown more than in other

countries. It would be difficult to name the strange shrubs and the famed flowers that grow here. The climate is hot; the people are uncivilised, tall of stature, and of a yellowish black complexion. Their words and language (pronunciation) differ from Central India. They love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission. Most of them believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred sangharamas, with 10,000 priests. They all study the Great Vehicle. There are fifty Deva temples in which sectaries of all sorts make their abodes. The stupas, to the number of ten or so, point out spots where Buddha preached. They were all founded by Asoka-raja.

In a great mountain on the south-west frontiers of the country is a sangharama called Pushpagiri (Pu-se-po-k'i-li); the stone stupa belonging to it exhibits very many spiritual wonders (miracles). On fast-days it emits a bright light. For this cause believers from far and near flock together here and present as offerings beautifully embroidered (flower) canopies (umbrellas); they place these underneath the vase at the top of the cupola, and let them stand there fixed as needles in the stone. To the north-west of this, in a convent on the mountain, is a stupa where the same wonders occur as in the former case. These two stupas were built by the demons, and hence are derived the extraordinary miracles.

On the south-east frontiers of the country, on the borders of the ocean, is the town "Che-Li-Ta-Lo"*, about 20 li round. Here it is merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way. The walls of the city are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles. Outside the city there are five convents one after the other; their storied towers are very high, and carved with figures of saints exquisitely done.

Going south 20,000 li or so is the country of Simhala (Seng-kia-lo). In the still night, looking far off, we see the surmounting precious stone of the tooth-stupa of Buddha, brilliantly shining and scintillating as a bright torch burning in the air.

From this going south-west about 1200 li through great forests, we come to the kingdom of Kong-U-T'o (Kongoda). (79.II.p.204-206)

Kongoda (Kong-U-T'o)

This kingdom is about 1000 li in circuit; the capital is 20 li round. It borders on a bay (angle of the sea). The ranges of mountains are high and precipitous. The ground is low and moist. It is regularly cultivated and productive. The temperature is hot, the disposition, of the people brave and impulsive. The men are tall of stature and black complexioned and dirty. They have some degree of politeness and are tolerably honest. With respect to their written characters, they are the same as those of Mid-India, but their language and mode of pronunciation are quite different. They greatly respect the teaching of heretics and do not believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred Deva temples, and there are perhaps 10,000 unbelievers of different sects.

Within the limits of this country there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to the sea. The cities themselves are strong and high; the soldiers are brave and daring; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them. This country, bordering on the sea, abounds in many rare and valuable articles. They use cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. The great greenish-blue elephant comes from this country. They harness it to their conveyances and make very long journeys. (79.II.p.206-207)

From this going south-west, we enter a vast desert, jungle, and forests, the trees of which mount to heaven and hide the sun. Going 1400 or 1500 li, we come to the country of Kie-Ling-Kia (Kalinga).

Kalinga (Kie-Ling-Kia)

This country is 5000 li or so in circuit; its capital is 20 li or so round. It is regularly cultivated and is productive. Flowers and fruits are very abundant. The forests and jungle are continuous for many hundred li. It produces the great tawny wild elephant, which are much prized by neighbouring provinces. The climate is burning; the disposition of the people vehement and impetuous. Though the men are mostly rough and uncivilised, they still keep their word and are trustworthy.

The language is light and tripping, and their pronunciation distinct and correct. But in both particulars, that is, as to words and sounds, they are very different from Mid-India. There are a few who believe in the true law, but most of them are attached to heresy. There are ten sangharamas, with about 500 priests, who study the Great Vehicle according to the teaching of the Sthavira School. There are some 100 Deva temples with very many unbelievers of different sorts, the most numerous being the Nirgranthas [Ni-kin followers].

In old days the kingdom of Kalinga had a very dense population. Their shoulders rubbed one with the other and the axles of their chariot wheels gridded together, and when they raised their arm-sleeves a perfect tent was formed. There was a Rishi possessed of the five supernatural powers, who lived (perched) on a high precipice, cherishing his pure (thoughts). Being put to shame (insulted) because he had gradually lost his magic powers, he cursed the people with a wicked imprecation, and caused all dwelling in the country, both young and old, to perish; wise and ignorant alike died, and the population

disappeared. After many ages the country was gradually repeopled by emigrants, but yet it is not properly inhabited. This is why at the present time there are so few who dwell here.

Not far from the south of the capital there is a stupa about a hundred feet high; this was built by Asoka-raja. By the side of it there are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down and walked.

Near the northern frontier of this country is a great mountain precipice, on the top of which is a stone stupa about a hundred feet high. Here, at the beginning of the kalpa, when the years of men's lives were boundless, a Pratyeka Buddha reached Nirvana. (79.II.p.207-209)

From this going north-west through forests and mountains about 1800 li, we come to the country of Kiao-Sa-Lo (Kosala).

Kosala (Kiao-Sa-Lo)

This country is about 5000 li in circuit; the frontiers consist of encircling mountain crags; forests and jungle are found together in succession. The capital is about 40 li round; the soil is rich and fertile, and yields abundant crops. The towns and villages are close together. The population is very dense. The men are tall and black complexioned. The disposition of the people is hard and violent; they are brave and impetuous. There are both heretics and believers here. They are earnest in study and of a high intelligence. The king is of the Kshattriya race; he greatly honours the law of Buddha, and his virtue and love are far renowned. There are about one hundred sangharamas, and somewhat less than 10,000 priests: they all alike study the teaching of the Great Vehicle. There are about seventy Deva temples, frequented by heretics of different persuasions.

Not far to the south of the city is an old sangharama, by the side of which is a stupa that was built by Asoka-raja. In this

place Tathagata, of old, calling an assembly, exhibited his supernatural power and subdued the unbelievers.

Afterwards Nagarjuna Bodhisattva (Long-meng-p'u-sa) dwelt in the sangharama. The king of the country was then called Sadvaha. He greatly prized and esteemed Nagarjuna, and provided him with a city gate hut. (79.II.p.209)

From this, going through a great forest south, after 900 li or so, we come to the country of An-Ta-Lo (Andhra). (79.II.p.217)

Andhra (An-Ta-Lo)

This country is about 3000 li in circuit; the capital is about 20 li round. It is called P'ing-k'i-lo (Vingila?). The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of cereals. The temperature is hot, and the manners of the people fierce and impulsive. The language and arrangement of sentences differ from Mid-India, but with reference to the shapes of the letters, they are nearly the same. There are twenty sangharamas with about 3000 priests. There are also thirty Deva temples with many heretics.

Not far from Vingila (?) is a great *sangharama* with storeyed towers and balconies beautifully carved and ornamented. There is here a figure of Buddha, the sacred features of which have been portrayed with the utmost power of the artist. Before this convent is a stone stupa which is several hundred feet high; both the one and the other were built by the Arhat 'O-che-lo (Achala).

To the south-west of the sangharama of the Arhat 'O-che-lo not a great way is a stupa which was built by Asoka-raja. Here Tathagata in old days preached the law, and exhibited his great spiritual powers, and converted numberless persons. (79.II.p.217-220)

From this going through the desert forest south 1000 li or so, we come to To-Na-Kie-Tse-Kia (Dhanakataka).

Dhanakataka (To-Na-Kie-Tse-Kia)

This country is about 6000 li in circuit, and the capital some 40 li round. The soil is rich and fertile, and is regularly cultivated, affording abundant harvests. There is much desert country, and the towns are thinly populated. The climate is hot. The complexion of the people is a yellowish black, and they are by nature fierce and impulsive. They greatly esteem learning. The convents (sangharamas) are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined; of those preserved there are about twenty, with 1000 or so priests. They all study the law of the Great Vehicle. There are 100 Deva temples, and the people who frequent them are numerous and of different beliefs.

To the east of the capital (the city] bordering on (leaning against) a mountain is a convent called the Purvasila (Fo-p'o-shi-lo-seng). To the west of the city leaning against (maintained by) a mountain is a convent called Avarasila. These were (or, this was) built by a former king to do honour to (for the sake of) Buddha. (79.II.p.221)

A comparative statement of Hiuen Tsiang's description of these realms in East-Coast of India would give us a fair idea of their social, cultural and commercial state of affairs prevailing in the seventh century A.D.

Kingdom Samatata of Hiuen Tsiang's period was situated in the trans-Meghna territories of present Bangladesh with Comilla-Noakholi plain forming its eastern boundary and combined waters of the Padma-Meghna-Brahmaputra as the western limit. Dhanakataka, the last country we have discussed, was located in Krishna valley around the present Amaravathi region of Andhra Pradesh.

State	Dimension of the country	Resources	No. of Sangharamas/ Monasteries	No. of Priests	Trade & Commerce	Special Remark
Samatata	3000	Regularly cultivated, rich in crops	30	2,000	xxxx	Nirgranthas most numerous
Tamralipti	1400 to 1500	Regularly cultivated, produces flowers and fruits in abundance	10	1,000	Articles of value and gems are collected here in abundance	Borders on the sea
Karnasuvarna	1400 to 1500	Regularly cultivated, and produces in abundance	10	2,000	xxxx	thickly populated, very rich households
Odra	7000	Abundance of grain and every kind of fruit is grown more than in other countries. It would be difficult to name the strange shrubs and the famed flowers that grow here.	100	10,000	On the south-east frontiers of the country, on the borders of the ocean, is the town “Che-Li-Ta-Lo”,about 20 li round. Here it is merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on	In a great mountain on the south-west is a sangharama called Pushpagiri (Pu-se-po-k’i-li); the stone stupa belonging to it exhibits very many spiritual

					their way.	wonders (miracles).
Kongoda	1000	Regularly cultivated and productive	Do not believe in the law of Buddha	Hundred Deva temples, and there are perhaps 10,000 unbelievers	There are several small towns contiguous to the sea. Abounds in many rare and valuable articles. Use cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions.	Soldiers are brave and daring; they rule by force. The great greenish-blue elephants, comes from this country
Kalinga	5000	Regularly cultivated and is productive. Flowers and fruits are very abundant	10 A few who believe in the true law.	500	xxxx	Forests and jungle are continuous for many hundred li. Produces the great tawny wild elephant, much prized by neighbouring provinces.
Kosala	5000	yields abundant crops	100	Less than 10,000	xxxx	Full of hills and forests. The population is very dense.

Andhra	3000	Regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of cereals	20	3,000	xxxx	
Dhanakataka	6000	Regularly cultivated, affording abundant harvests.	20 The convents are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined; of those preserved are about twenty	1,000	xxxx	Much desert country and the towns are thinly populated.

Fig.3.2. Samatata, Odra and Dhanakataka in Google Map

The excerpts reveal that Odra was the largest in extent amongst these kingdoms and maintained more number of monasteries and Buddhist priests. The production was higher than the other countries. It nurtured a rich biodiversity difficult to identify by the foreigner. The stupas were exhibiting many spiritual wonders indicating the practice of Vajrayana and Mahayana tradition. The record mentions a walled city namely "Che-Li-Ta-Lo", on the borders of the ocean, from where the 'merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way.' All sorts of rare and precious articles are traded in that locality.

It is pertinent to note that Che-Li-Ta-Lo in Odra is the only enterpot of international repute that has caught the attention of Hiuen Tsiang on the east coast of India between the river Meghna of Bangladesh and Krishna of Andhra Pradesh.

Fig.3.3. Mouth of River Meghna and River Krishna in Google Map

His description for Tamralipti (presently Tamluk in West Bengal) and Kongoda (the mid-coastal Odisha including Chilika Lake) would point to some trading activity and existence of ports and harbours but certainly not of the magnitude of Che-Li-Ta-Lo, for which the pilgrim has made a special mention.

IDENTIFYING CHE-LI-TA-LO

Hiuen Tsiang's travel record, Hsi-yu-chi (Si-Yu-Ki), became public outside China, Japan and Korea, as late as 1853 A.D., on publication of its French translation by famed sinologist Stanislas Julien (13 April 1797 –14 February 1873) with the title '*Voyages du pelerin Hiouen-tsang*'. The translated version immensely contributed to the knowledge of ancient India and Central Asia. Scholars of history, geography, archaeology and antiquities began earnest endeavour to explore the ancient sites of Buddhist heritage and places of seventh century that were traversed by the pilgrim. One of them was Alexander Cunningham (23 January 1814-28 November 1893), an enthusiastic young British army Engineer, who, on joining the Bengal Engineers in 1833, took active interest in archaeological expeditions in Indian sub-continent. 'With Julien's French translation in hand Cunningham was able to locate

and excavate a great many ancient cities and locations associated with the Buddha.' (11.p.63) His achievements in the field of history and archaeology of India led to his appointment as the first Director-General to the newly established Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) in 1861 A.D. He wrote numerous books and monographs and made massive collections of artefacts. Some of his collections are preserved in the British Museum. Cunningham published the '*The Ancient Geography of India*' in 1871 A.D., describing most of the places mentioned in Hiuen Tsiang's journal. He was chiefly guided by Julien's French translation as the English translation of the 'Hsi-yu-chi' (Si-Yu-Ki) by Samuel Beal was published in 1884, just a year before Cunningham's retirement from the Archaeological Survey of India.

Regarding Hiuen Tsiang's U-Cha (Odra), Cunningham wrote – 'The kingdom of U-Cha or Oda, corresponds exactly with the modern province of Odra, or Odisha.' He assumed 'that the pilgrim must have returned to Tamluk from Karnasuvarna before proceeding to Odra.' (02.p.510) Considering Julien's rendering of Che-Li-Ta-Lo as Charitra (137.II.p.194), Cunningham coined the name of the ancient port city as Charitrapura and identified that with 'the present town of Puri, or "the city," near which stands the famous temple of Jagannatha.' He presumed the temple of Lord Jagannatha to be one of the Buddhist stupas mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang and 'the three shapeless figures of God as simple copies of the symbolical figures of the Buddhist triad, Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.' (02.p.511)

He opined that Raja Jajati Kesari was ruling over the kingdom in the early part of the sixth century and established the capital at Jajpur on the Baitarani River. He assigned the caves and inscriptions in Udayagiri and Khandagiri of Bhubaneswar to Buddhist tradition and thought it to be the Pushpagiri (Pu-se-

po-k'i-li) of the pilgrim's record. (02.p.512) He contemplated that Hiuen Tsiang 'must have visited the hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri and the town of Charitrapura, or Puri, on his way to Ganjam.' (02.p.513)

Apart from Alexander Cunningham, other scholars have also attempted to identify the port city of Odra. Thomas Watters, 1905 informs that 'Che-Li-Ta-Lo is translated in a note to the text by Fa-hien (Fa-hsing or Faxian), which may mean "setting out", that is, on a voyage or journey; and the city is supposed to have received this name because it was a starting place for navigators and land travllers.' (137.II.p.194)

N.K. Sahu has tried to restore the word as '*Sritra'* indicating Srikhetra, the ancient name of Puri. (61.p.35) But such translation is not tenable because before describing Che-Li-Ta-Lo in this part of India Hiuen Tsiang has already transcribed 'Sriksetra'of Burma as 'Si-li-cha-ta-lo'. So, there was no reason for the Chinese scholar to spell 'Sriksetra' of U-Cha (Odra) differently. (28.p.127)

While accepting the identification of Che-Li-Ta-Lo with Chartira, Rhys Davids is not convinced about Puri being the same place because of the pilgrim's silence regarding the temple of Jagannatha in his account. (61.p.35)

Dr. H.B. Sarkar, an eminent scholar of South-East-Asian history, identifies Che-Li-Ta-Lo with Chhatrapur (Chatrapur) of Ganjam, on the ground that 'Chatra' sounds close to 'Citra', the actual transcription of Che-Li-Ta-Lo. (28.p.127)

A.P. Patnaik, 2003, relates Che-Li-Ta-Lo to 'Chhatragarh' a place on the coastline of Chilika Lake, near village Gada-dwara to the North-west of Rambha. (28.p.124)

H.P. Ray thinks *dalo* is *tala* which means 'lake' in India. In that case, Zhe-li may perhaps represent Chili of Chilka, in which

case the word will be Chili (ka)-tala, the lake Chilika. Considering such interpretation, some scholars presume the location of Che-Li-Ta-Lo somewhere at the adjoining area of Chilika Lake. (61.p.36)

The Orissa Institute of Maritime and Southeast Asian Studies, Bhubaneswar carried out excavations in 1989-1993 at Manikapatna, located on the mouth of Chilika Lake in Puri district and brought to light such antiquities that indicate early trade contact with many countries including Arabia, Rome, Ceylon and China. This discovery prompted some scholars to relate Manikapatna as the site of Che-Li-Ta-Lo. (55.p.93)

Fergusson regards Che-Li-Ta-Lo as represented by the modern Tamluk in West Bengal. (137.II.p.194)

The foregoing discussion indicates that scholars, till-date, differ in their opinion in identifying this famous trade emporium and port city of seventh century Odisha. Julien's transcription of Che-Li-Ta-Lo as 'Charitra' has not been accepted by Dr. Waddell, which will be discussed in subsequent pages. 'In fact there is some amount of confusion in rendering Indian terms in to Chinese due to very defective power of the Chinese syllables for transcription of the Sanskrit words.' (02.p.524) But swayed by Cunningham's reckoning, some of the authors surmise Puri as Charitrapura or Che-Li-Ta-Lo; without, however, realising that Cunningham's description of Hiuen Tsiang's Odra, the cities and shrines, do suffer from both historical and spatial inconsistency that calls for a discreet deliberation.

CUNNINGHAM'S FALLACY

The Route to Odra

Si-Yu-Ki records that from Tamralipti (Tan-Mo-Li-Ti) Hiuen Tsiang travelled north-west to the country Karnasuvarna (Kie-

Lo-Na-Su-Fa-La-Na) and from there in a south-westerly direction to the country of Odra (U-Cha). Cunningham holds a contradictory view, and presumes 'that the pilgrim must have returned to Tamluk (Tamralipti) from Karnasuvarna before proceeding to Odra'. (02.p.510)

This assumption contrary to the report seems misleading and erroneous. Hiuen Tsiang as a Buddhist monk always wanted to have his own personal testimony, the witness of his own senses or at least his personal experience. According to Samuel Beal, 1884, "These records embody the testimony of independent eye-witnesses as to the facts related in them, and their evidence is entirely trustworthy." (79.I.p.ix) There is hardly any reason, whatsoever, to counter the writings of an earnest priest who left his native country and undertook a long arduous journey through deserts and mountains with great sufferings, only in search of "TRUTH" of his religion.

The historical sources would suggest the existence of direct connectivity from Karnasuvarna to Odra, particularly, in early seventh century. Just few years before the visit of Hiuen Tsiang, Sasanka, the king of Gauda with capital at Karnasuvarna, extended his suzerainty over Odra. He placed the kingdom, then known as Utkaladesa, in charge of a governor who was succeeded by Somadatta. (89.p.91) According to the Soro copper plate inscription issued by Somadatta, Sasanka suffered a setback in the hands of Harsavardhana of Kannauj in 621 A.D., and lost to him Dandabhukti and Utkaladesa. Harsavardhana reappointed Somadatta as the governor of that territory. (89.p.92) Harsavardhana retained his hold over Dandabhukti and Utkala till his death. This territory under him was known as Odra Vishaya which Hiuen Tsiang describes in his account as 'U-Cha'. Somadatta, the governor of this country, was subsequently succeeded by Bhanudatta also known as

Bhanu and Bhanuvardhan. His headquarters was probably located at Jajpur (Viranja or Viraja) on the bank of river Baitarani from where the Soro charter was issued in his fifth regnal year. (89.p.93) These historical facts indicate that Odra country and its capital Jajpur was connected with both Karnasuvarna and Kannauj by land route during the visit of the Chinese pilgrim.

Tamralipti, as stated by Hiuen Tsiang, was directly on the sea coast, 'the water and land embracing each other'; though presently it is about 60 kilometres away due to continuous siltation of the delta. The coastal tract of the Gangetic delta up to the Mahanadi delta of Odisha was marshy and intersected by innumerable tidal streams and creeks. The swampy ground contained dense mangrove jungles difficult to walk through. As late as in the nineteenth century, Walter Hamilton, 1828, describing this part of Odisha, wrote – "The aspect of the country on the sea-coast, and to the westward for about twenty miles, is low, covered with wood, and totally inundated by the sea in the spring tides and into this stone less expanse of swamp and forest the numerous rivers from the interior discharge their waters, through many channels, resembling in fact, although not in figure, the deltas of Bengal and Egypt. The whole of these forests are much infested by wild beasts, especially leopards, which during the marches of the British troops, in 1803, devoured many of the sentinels." (29.I.p.469) In the seventh century the conditions might be much more inhospitable and inaccessible. Such state of affairs continued till the construction of the great Odisha Trunk Road, which was sanctioned in 1811 A.D. and completed in 1825 A.D. (122.p.145) The rail connectivity from Kolkata to Cuttack and Puri was opened 1901 A.D., and before that the journey from Bengal to Odisha was through the water route. Thus, there was hardly any scope for

the pilgrim to travel through orduous coastal tract from Tamluk to Odra in the seventh century A.D., when a well-connected land route existed between Karnasuvarna and Odra country.

Puri Temple not a Buddhist stupa

Cunningham's presumption that the Jagannatha Temple was a Buddhist stupa and the idols are simple copies of Buddhist triad, is not based on facts rather seems to be an erroneous imagination.

Hindus adore Lord Jagannatha as the incarnation of Lord Vishnu and his abode Puri a celebrated '*Tirtha*' of their religion. *Santhas* of different philosophical doctrines of Hindu religion have venerated the Images with fervent devotion. The Jagannatha tradition acknowledges Buddha as one of the incarnations of Vishnu but Buddhism has nothing to do with the images worshiped in the temple.

The present temple of Lord Jagannatha was built during twelfth century A.D.; but many scholars are of the opinion that Jagannatha culture is more ancient than the present temple. There are different views on the date and construction of the Temple at Puri.

1. According to some Puranas (Starting with Skanda Purana) Indradyumna, the king of Malava constructed the temple.
2. The Temple Chronicle, Madala Panji mentions that king Yayati built a temple of 38 *Hata* high which is now considered as the temple of Lord Nrusingh beside the *Mukti mandapa*. The present temple was built by Anangabhimadeva in twelfth Century A.D. According to *Ganga Vamsanucharitam Champu* and *Raja vamsavalis*, Anangabhima-II was the builder of this great temple.

3. With the discovery of Ganga copper plate grants, Manmohan Chakraborty, on the basis of a particular verse, credited Anantavarmana Chodaganga to have constructed the Vimana and Jagamohana. This view of Chakraborty is accepted by most of the present day scholars.

4. Dr. S. N. Rajguru was of the opinion that Chodaganga started the construction of the great temple, but it was completed by Anangabhima-II and the temple was consecrated by Anangabhima-III. (30.p.129)

However, in order to ascertain the status of Puri and Lord Jagannatha during the period of Hiuen Tsiang's visit in seventh century A.D., we have to rely on two different accounts. One of them is a reality and the other, a recorded legend.

The first consideration is that, Jagannatha Puri has been chosen by Adi Shankara (788-820 A.D.) as one of the four *Peethas* (cardinal centers) of Hindu religion, the others being at Dvaraka in the West, Sringeri in the South and Badrikashrama in the North. Each *Peetha* used to represent one of the four Vedas. The Govardhana *Peetha* at Jagannatha Puri was founded in the eighth century A.D. and represents the Rig Veda. This establishment has historical connections with the Jagannatha temple. Preference of Puri as one of the *Peethas* by Adi Shankaracharya would justify beyond doubt that it was a chief centre of Hinduism prior to eighth century A.D.

The second point of view is obtained from literary source. Madala Panji, the chronicle of Jagannatha Temple, records an invasion of Puri by one 'Raktabahu' in early centuries. Andrew Sterling, 1846, has reproduced the description of invasion as under:

> "A Yavana, or foreigner, named Rakta Bahu, (the Red-Armed) having assembled a large army with the intention of invading Odisha, embarked his troops on vessels with numerous horses and elephants, and having made the coast, anchored at a distance from the town of Jagannatha, hoping to take Puri by surprise. The dung, straw, &c. of the horses and elephants, happening to float ashore in quantities, attracted the notice of some of the people of the town. They immediately reported the unusual appearance to the Raja, who guessed that some powerful enemy was coming to attack him. Seized with a panic, he took the image of Sri Jeo or Jagannatha out of the temple, lodged it in a covered cart with all its jewels and utensils, and fled away to Sonepur Gopalli, the most remote town on his western frontier! The Yavanas landed, and not finding the prince, plundered the town and temple and committed great excesses everywhere. The Raja's alarm increased on receiving intelligence of the proceedings of the invaders; he now buried the image, planted a Banyan tree over it, and himself fled farther into the jungles."
>
> "The Raja died shortly afterwards in the jungles. His son Indra Deo succeeded to the title, but was captured and murdered by the invaders. A Yavana dynasty then ruled over Odisha for the space of 146 years." (69.p.85-86)

Madala Panji reports that Yayati Keshari recovered the Idols and built a new temple to restore the worship of Lord Jagannatha. Sterling says,

> "Directed by what was esteemed certain omens and supernatural appearances, he (Yayati Keshari) proceeded to the Purushottama Kshetra to institute enquiries regarding the idol and the temple, when the Brahmins of the place informed him, that a tradition existed amongst them of Sri Jeo (Jagannatha) having been carried off, upwards of a century and a half before, to Sonepur Gopalli, on the invasion of a person called Rakta Bahu, where the former had ever since remained concealed from mortal eyes! This intelligence induced the Raja to make a visit to the jungles of Sonepur. He discovered after some search the place where Sri Jeo had been buried, cuts down the banyan tree which overshadowed

> the sacred spot, and finds the image or images encased in a stone vault, much decayed and disfigured."

His next care was to search out the officiating priests, descended from those who formerly fled from Puri, and having discovered several of them in the Rattanpur country, he consulted with them how the worship of Jagannatha should be revived in all its ancient splendour. The formation of a new image being considered an indispensable preliminary, the priests proceeded into the woods to look for a proper piece of timber; and having found one with all the requisite qualities indicated by the *shastras*, they brought it to the Raja, who clothed both it and the old images in rich robes, and conducted them in great state to Puri. A new temple was then erected on the site of the old one, which was found to be much dilapidated and covered with sand. The four images were afterwards duly prepared and set up on their throne with much pomp and solemnity on the 5th of Karkata (Cancer) the thirteenth year of the Raja's reign, amidst the shouts and rejoicings of the multitude. At the same time the necessary officers were appointed, feasts and festivals established, *Sasanas* founded, and the whole country around Puri assigned as endowments for the maintenance of the temple. On this memorable occasion the Raja received by general acclamation the title of the second Indradyumna." (69.p.87-88)

Yayati Keshari of Madala Panji is identified with Somavamsi king Yayati-I (885-925 A.D.), who performed 'Navakalebara' of the deities and constructed the new temple measuring 38 Hatas (cubits), which is at present the temple of Lord Nrusingh beside the *Mukti Mandap* in the precinct of Sri Jagannatha temple.

Historians differ on the identity of Rakta Bahu and also on the period of the incidence. Prof. K.C. Panigrahi has identified Rakta Bahu with Govinda-III, the Rastrakuta King of Deccan

and Subhanadeva, the then king of Puri, with Subhakaradeva-I of Bhaumakara dynasty. (49.p.82) According to Hunter, Raktabahu was a Buddhist. This view has been supported by historian Sri Jagabandhu Singh. (81.p.32) Sterling believes that the legend might have some connection with the fierce religious disputes, which raged between the worshippers of Brahma and Buddha about the period in which the invasion of foreigners, and the flight of Jagannatha is placed, and which as is well known terminated in the expulsion of the latter from the continent of India. (69.p.86) Buddhists were also mentioned as Yavanas in some of the documents of Purusottama Temple. (81.p.69)

From chronological considerations, 146 years before reign of Yayati-I will be around 740-750 A.D. This is the period when Unmatta Simha alias Sivakaradeva-I of Bhaumakara dynasty (736-780 A.D.) established the kingdom of Tosali in Odra country. (89.p.109) Unmatta Simha also annexed Kongoda into his kingdom by defeating the Sailodbhavas. (94.p.62)

Bhaumakaras were all Buddhists and have called themselves *Parama-Saugata*, *Parama-tathagata* and *Paramopasaka* meaning the "devout worshipper of the Buddha". The Sailodbhavas of Kongoda (which included Puri and Chilika area) were Vedic Hindus. The charters issued by the kings of this dynasty mention performance of Vedic rites like Mahamakha, Asvamedha, and Vajapeya and Avabhrtasnana. (94.p.60) Hiuen Tsiang also reports that the people of Kongoda greatly respect the teaching of heretics (Hindu preceptor) and do not believe in the law of Buddha. (79.p.206)

Thus the history corroborates that Puri was brought under the suzerainty of a Buddhist dynasty through a triumph over the Hindu rulers in mid-eighth century endorsing Sterling's view of

occurrence of a fierce religious dispute, necessitating shifting of Idols to Sonepur Gopalli.

The proceedings discussed make it amply clear that Puri was a celebrated religious centre for Hindus in the seventh century and the Temple of Lord Jagannatha was not a Buddhist stupa during Hiuen Tsiang's visit.

Khandagiri – Udayagiri not Buddhist Monuments

Hiuen Tsiang reports regarding two mountains, one on the south-west and the other to the north-west of Odra country where the stupas used to exhibit a large number of spiritual wonders. Cunningham takes those hills to be the famous Udayagiri and Khandagiri of Bhubaneswar assuming that the caves and inscriptions found there belong to Buddhist tradition. It is well settled that rock inscription of Udayagiri, Bhubaneswar, named as Hathigumpha inscription was engraved by Mahameghavahana Kharabela, the emperor of Kalinga. Kharavela was a Jain and a great patron of Jainism. The caves were excavated for the residence of Jain ascetics. The archaeological finds of Udayagiri and Khandagiri relate to Jain tradition and not of Buddhism.

Cunningham's speculation that the pilgrim must have visited the hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri and the town of Charitrapura, or Puri, on his way to Ganjam, is hard to believe. Hiuen Tsiang, an ardent Buddhist has mostly visited the centers of Buddhism in India. He has not even mentioned the holy places of other religions.

Puri and Chilika were not part of Odra Country

"Che-Li-Ta-Lo" has been reported in Odra (U-Cha) country, but there has been attempts to identify it in and around Puri,

Chilika and Ganjam district. During the pilgrim's visit in 639 A.D., Odisha was divided into four different kingdoms namely Odra, Kongoda, Kalinga and Kosala. 'Odra, in seventh century, extended from the river Subarnarekha in the north and Mahanadi in the south with capital at Jajpur.' (21.p.19) To the south-west of Odra was Kongoda, also known as Kongoda mandala, which stretched from south of Mahanadi upto Mahendragiri, with capital on the bank of the river Salia near Banpur in Khurda district. (89.p.99)

Kongoda, then a powerful kingdom, was ruled by Sailodbhava dynasty. The members of this family issued a number of grants, which have been discovered in Puri, Khurda, Parikud, Buguda and Ganjam, indicating their territory comprised the present Puri, Khurda, Ganjam and Gajapati districts of Odisha. According to D. C. Sircar 'The heart of the Kongoda country, i.e., the dominions of the Sailodhbhavas, lay about the border between the present Puri and Ganjam Districts of Odisha. (32.XXIX.p.35)

Later, in mid-eighth century Bhaumakaras occupied both Odra and Kongoda and named their kingdom as Tosali. It was broadly divided into two administrative zones, viz., Uttara (Northern) and Daksina (Southern) Tosali, the river Mahanadi being the dividing line. (89.p.109) Kongoda is said to have been included in Dakshina Tosali. (32.XXIX.p.85)

Traditionally Odra and Kongoda have been named as two different religio-cultural regions viz: Viraja Mandala and Jagannatha Mandala; emphasizing the presiding deity of each territory. Even today the people of these two regions continue to maintain their ritual identity and practice separate almanac such as Jagannatha *Panjika* and Viraja *Panjika*. 'Though the exact cause behind such division is not known, still it is presumed that

it was due to difference in ritualistic faith, custom, usage and the geographical location of the two regions.' (34.p.05) 'Practice of Tantrayana Buddhism in and around Jajpur in early centuries, which reached its peak in Bhaumakara reign, from eighth to tenth century A.D.; influenced the Vedic rites with Sakta concept and the Ksetra was sanctified as a *Saktapitha* with Viraja the presiding deity. Vaishnavism continued to be practiced in the other part, south of Mahanadi, with the predominance of Jagannatha culture.' (85.p.26) Mahanadi was dividing line between Viraja Mandala and Jagannatha Mandala. Viraja Mandala included the present Jajpur, Kendrapada, Bhadrak, Balasore, Mayurbhanja, Keonjhar districts of Odisha and also Singhbhum of Jharkhand, Medinipur (part) and Manbhum of west Bengal. (85.p.07) The geographical and religeo-cultural aspect would establish that Puri was neither a part of Odra country, nor a centre of Buddhism to be identified with "Che-Li-Ta-Lo". Chilika and Ganjam were parts of Kongoda country, which predominantly professed Hinduism. In the words of the pilgrim, they 'do not believe in the law of Buddha'.

Pushpagiri, Hiuen Tsiang's landmark in Odra

While reporting on Odra, Hiuen Tsiang spoke about some prominent features of the country and of important memorials outside the city of 'Che-Li-Ta-Lo'. He refers to a monastery called Pushpagiri (Pu-se-po-k'i-li); which was visited by devotees from far and wide to offer prayer and presents for spiritual gain. Recent archaeological investigations have discovered the early historic Buddhist site Pushpagiri in Langudi hill located in the Salipur village of Jajpur District. The Odishan Institute of Maritime and South East Asian Studies took up excavation in Langudi from the year 1996 till 2007 and discovered a stupa, evidences of a monastic area, rock-cut Buddhist monuments

and a number of terracotta Buddha images. The stone stupa has been estimated to belong to Asokan period. Some rock-cut inscriptions of Langudi also relate to Devanampiya Asoka.

Fig.3.4 The Maha Stupa at Langudi

Few early Brahmi inscriptions were reported from this site. 'One such inscription on a fragment of stone reads as "*Puspa Sabhara Giriya*" (load of flowers of a hill). The inscription is dated to the first century A.D. and confirms the identity of Langudi with that of Hiuen Tsiang's Pu-sie-po-ki-li.' (05.p.528)

The discovery of Ashokan stupa and Puspagiri Vihara at Langudi has substantiated Hiuen Tsiang's statement that *"Ashoka constructed ten stupas in Odra country where the Buddha had preached"*.

CONVENTS AROUND CHE-LI-TA-LO

For the location of port city 'Che-Li-Ta-Lo', the pilgrim has provided some vital clues. He wrote: "Outside the city there are five convents one after the other; their storeyed towers are very high, and carved with figures of saints exquisitely done." (79.II.p.206) Such monuments with elegantly carved sculptures have been unearthed in the region north of river Mahanadi, particularly in the valley of Birupa, Brahmani and Baitarani.

Though wrecked by natural catastrophe and religious turbulence, the ruins still preserve the enchanting craftsmanship that demonstrates the affluence of Buddhist establishments of ancient Odisha. Over the years, the archaeologists, with their earnest endeavour, have decoded the original names of these convents from the objects bearing seal-impressions and inscribed potsherds found in respective shrines. Some such convents of Hiuen Tsiang's Odra, which nevertheless embrace the vestiges of those graceful object d'art; are:

Sri Ratnagiri Maha-vihara

Ratnagiri (Lat. 20° 38' N.; Long. 86° 20' E.) is a small hillock of the Assia range in Jajpur District bounded on all sides by three rivers-Brahmani, the Kimiria (a branch of Brahmani) and the Birupa a branch of Mahanadi. As the crow flies, Ratnagiri is 51.5 km north-east of Cuttack town and 21km south of Jajpur, the long cherished ancient capitals of Odisha. Evidently, the communication of Ratnagiri with Jajpur was more smooth and intimate in ancient days than at present. (76.p.07) The hillock is surrounded with lushgreen paddy-fields broken by intermittent grooves. The top of the hill with its serene atmosphere was suitable for the monastic establishment. Large storied monasteries, a number of big and small stupas, temples, innumerable monolithic votive stupas and superbly sculptured images have been discovered at Ratnagiri. Lots of broken artefacts are scattered throughout the area. As indicated by Dr. (Mrs.) Debala Mitra, 1981, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, the monastery and votive stupas of Ratnagiri can be compared well with that of Nalanda and Bodh Gaya. She also holds that Ratnagiri was an important religious and philosophical academy where eager students and scholars used to repair to study under the intellectual stalwarts of Buddhism.

Fig.3.5 Ruins of Monastery-1 and 2 at Ratnagiri Maha Vihara

Fig.3.6. Front Porch of Monastery-1

Fig.3.7 Restored Facade of the Shrine in Monastery-1

Fig.3.8 Remains of Carved Sculptures at Ratnagiri Maha Vihara

The name of the monastery has been deciphered from numerous seals bearing the legend *'Sri-Ratnagiri-maha-vihariy-arya-bhikshu-sanghasya*' – of the community of venerable monks belonging to the great monastery of the auspicious Ratnagiri.

Sri Candraditya Vihara

This convent is a part of the major Buddhist complex at Lalitagiri (Lat. 20° 35' N.; Long. 86° 15' E.) in Birupa-Chitrotpala valley in the Mahanga Tahsil of Cuttack district. The site is couched between hills of Parabhadi and Landa of the isolated Assia hill range.

The excavation of the site, carried out by the Archaeological Survey of India from 1985 to 1991, has revealed the remains of a massive stupa on hilltop containing relic caskets. This discovery of relic caskets was the first of its kind in the eastern India. Within the stone container, a steatite, silver and a gold casket inside one another were recovered. The inner-most gold casket contained the relic or *dhatu* in the form of a small fragment of bone.

The other important discovery of the site was structural remains of a large apsidal *chaityagriha* measuring 33 m. x 11 m. with a circular stupa in the center. Majority of the sculptures recovered from excavation are the figures of Buddha in different postures belonging to Mahayanistic phase of Buddhism. Lalitagiri is one of the earliest Buddhist sites in Odisha that continued till thirteenth century A.D. Four monasteries have been excavated at Lalitagiri.

Fig.3.9 Chaityagriha at Lalitagiri

Fig.3.10 Monastery at Lalitagiri

The name of this convent, as has been deciphered from the inscribed seal, was "*Sri Candraditya vihara samagra arya bhiksu sangha*". The name suggests that this establishment housed the ascetics belonging to all sects of Buddhism.

Sri Madhavapura Maha-vihara

This celebrated convent is a part of Buddhist settlement of Udayagiri (Lat. 20° 39' N.; Long. 86° 16' E.), the most easterly peak of the Assia hill range, on bank of the river Birupa in Badachana tehsil of Jajpur district. Though the Buddhist remains of Udayagiri was reported since 1870 A.D. the systematic excavation of the site by the Archaeological Survey of India commenced in 1985. In the meantime, some of the images from this site were removed to Patna museum and Indian Museum, Kolkata. (84.p.08-09)

The first phase excavation, which continued from 1985 A.D. to 1989 A.D. in the north-western arm of the hill, brought to light a *maha-stupa*, images of Buddha, a large monastery and a number of seals and sealings.

Fig.3.11 Ruins of the Monastery at Udayagiri – 1

This part of the complex is designated as Udayagiri-1. The name of this monastery, as inscribed on the seals, was '*Sri Madhavapura mahavihariya Aryabhiksu samghasya*', which means it was a great monastery belonging to the community of venerable monks.

Sri Simhaprastha Maha-vihara

This monastic establishment has been discovered in the south-eastern half of Udayagiri hill designated as Udayagiri-2. Excavation carried out in this part of the hill, by the Archaeological Survey of India from 1997 A.D. to 2000 A.D., brought to light the remains of an impressive brick-built double-storied monastic complex, a shrine complex, an apsidal *chaityagiha*, a *stupa* complex, a masonry path way, and a lot many images of different deities.

'The date of the apsidal structure could be assigned to the beginning of the Christian era. From these levels, Puri-Kushana imitation copper coins and a Khondalite relic casket inscribed in Brahmi characters of first century A.D., bearing the name of the donor, were recorded.' (84.p.11) Some other inscriptions of the donors, found in the area have been dated to fifth to seventh century A.D.

Fig. 3.12 Monastery at Udayagiri – 2

Fig.3.13 Shrine complex at Udayagiri – 2

On the basis of inscriptions in number of terracotta sealings, this monastic complex has been identified as *'Sri Simhaprastha Mahavihara'*. A series of lion-pedestals installed on the southern wall of the *chaityagriha* justify naming of the establishment.

Sri Solanapura Mahavihara

Reference to this Buddhist establishment appears in two inscriptions – the Neulpur grant of Subhakaradeva-I of Bhaumakara family (780-800 A.D.) and Ratnagiri copper-plate charter issued by Somavamsi king Mahasivagupta Karnadeva (1090-1118 A.D.).

Solanapura (some authors write as Salonapura) has been identified with village Solampur (Lat. 20° 52' N.; Long. 86° 20' E.) situated in Bhadrak district, opposite of Jajapur accross the Baitarani river. 'The village has grown up on the mounds and ruins of Buddhist edifices and some thirty Buddhist images are still within the village, including that of Buddha, Amoghapasa, Jambhala, Lokesvara, Maitreya and Vajrasattva.' (40.p.37) Some images have been fixed to the walls of the Raghunatha temple,

constructed during later period and some are lying scattered in the temple premises.

Fig.3.14 The Buddha in Bhumisparsa-mudra

Among these are the Buddha in *bhumisparsa-mudra*, Lokesvara, Manjusri and an impressive standing image of Tara to name a few. Numerous fragmented images are placed beneath a tree in front of the Santesvari Thakurani temple.

Fig.3.15 Lokesvara

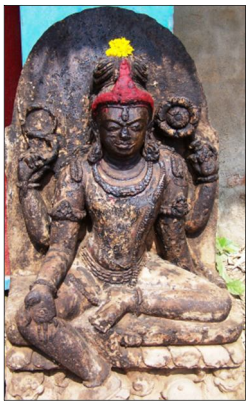


Fig.3.16 Amoghapas Lokesvara

Patnaik, 2012, observed scattered brickbats at the entrance of the village forming a line which he considered to be a monastic complex is now ruined to its lowest level. (17.p.37) The Ratnagiri charter of Karnadeva also confirms the existence of a monastery at Solanapura. (89.p.172) Monastic remains have been observed at other nearby places such as Vajragiri and Kolangiri of Jajpur district and Brahmavana of Cuttack district.

MERCHANTS: CHIEF PATRON OF MONASTERIES

Several monasteries in close proximity would corroborate the statement of Hiuen Tsiang that Odra country supported a large contingent of monks. In early period, the monasteries were invariably located near about the mercantile centres and at strategic places along the trade routes. Buddhist philosophy was more favourable to long distant trade. The Jataka stories are full of reference to trading caravans, merchants, merchant guilds and their association with monks.

In Buddhist tradition the *Bhiksus* lead a wandering life for about nine months in a year. But in rainy season, known as *Vassa*, they come back to the monastery. During this period they

used to give instructions to lay devotees. In return, the devotees honoured and supported the monks, which were considered as their duty and a means of acquiring merit. Such was the mutually dependent relationship between monastic establishments and the local community.

The epigraphic records speak that the ruling princes made land-grants for establishment and maintenance of monasteries, but invariably it was the mercantile community who provided for the necessities of the inmates. Wealthy merchants would prefer to oblige the monks and earn spiritual merit for themselves and their families. They used to make donations for obtaining divine grace for the business enterprises. Buddhist literatures narrate the role of Buddhist Gods and Goddess as the savior from the perils of maritime trade and caravans. Goddess Tara was considered as the protecting deity from such calamities during sea voyages.

The merchants used to make their offerings in financing small stupas, temples and images for accomplishment of worldly aspirations. Excavaion of numerous votive stupas in Ratnagiri and other monasteries obviously indicate that these sites were frequented by devout pilgrims including the trader community, who sponsored these stupas as an act of worship.

Fig.3.17 Votive stupas at Ratnagiri

Besides the merchants, a wide range of people, including farmers and artisans made contributions to such institutions.

The Fertile Tract

Though monasteries were primarily located near the urban-based trade centres, there seems to be a close association between these institutions and the agricultural productivity of the region. Maintenance of thousands of ascetics would demand large surplus farm products in a fertile and affluent neighbourhood. This part of Odisha, formed by the extenssive alluvial delta of river Mahanadi, Brahmani, Baitarani and their numerous distributaries, had been considered as one of the major rice producing centers of South Asia.

Fig.3.18 Extensive Rice field in the Delta

Besides rice, various other crops such as fruits, vegetables, sugarcane, pulses, groundnut, are grown in the region throughout the year. The Chinese pilgrim has rightly observed:

> "The soil is rich and fertile, and it produces abundance of grain, and every kind of fruit is grown more than in other countries. It would be difficult to name the strange shrubs and the famed flowers that grow here."

Surplus agricultural products constituted the major commodities of trade. Particularly rice from Odisha was one of the important items of export from very early period.

The Connectivity

The pilgrim apparently does not describe the city of Che-Li-Ta-Lo as a starting-point or terminus of a journey; his words seem rather to indicate that it was a depot and caravanserai for traders and travellers to and from the seaports and also by land. (137.II.p.194) Historical events and numismatic evidences confirm the existence of land route connecting Odra with both North and South India. However, the rivers served as national highways for transport of commodities. Water transport was not only cheaper but facilitated bulk carriage as compared to animal-driven carts in land routes.

Odra had the advantage of having three major navigable rivers, the Mahanadi, Brahmani and Baitarani traversing the region and providing channel of conveyance from central India to the east coast.

Mahanadi or the Great River (*Maha*-Great, *Nadi*-River) is the longest navigable river of Odisha. It originates from Amarkantak hills of Bastar plateau of Chhattisgarh and flows over a course of 851 kilometres affording means of conveyance for the produce from an extensive hinterland of central India. The distributaries of Mahanadi cover a wide-spread area in coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack, Jagatsinghpur and Kendrapara.

Brahmani, the second largest river of the state, assumes its name at the confluence of river Sankha and Koel at Vedavyasa near Rourkela. These two tributaries of Brahmani drain the Chota Nagpur Plateau of Jharkhand. The river flows through

the districts of Sundargarh, Deogarh, Angul, Dhenkanal, Jajpur and Kendrapara to join Baitarani at Dhamra estuary.

Baitarani emerges from hills of Keonjhar district and flows through Bhadrak, Jajpur and Kendrapara before uniting with Brahmani. Some of the tributaries of Baitarani originate from Similipal hills of Mayurbhanj district.

Birupa an offshoot of Mahanadi branching out at Cuttack flows in north-east direction to unite with Brahmani. Budha, a tributary of Baitarani joins Kharsuan, the branch of river Brahmani near Jajpur. All the three major rivers, interconnected with each other, ramify the deltaic plain of Odra before finding their ways into the Bay of Bengal. These rivers from mountainous peninsula pass through the regions containing precious and semiprecious mineral resources, iron ore and forest products, which historically constituted the major trading elements.

In early period, the ships as well as other sea-going floating crafts were required to enter at some estuarine portion, where they could get appropriate tranquil and berthing facilities. (55.p.61) Having accessibility to the resources of the hinterland, these major rivers might have provided a number of berthing *ghats*, each perhaps operated by different merchant guild.

The international trade emporium Che-Li-Ta-Lo is expected to be somewhere in this locality, surrounded by fertile landscape, monastic establishments and stupas that go well with the description of Hiuen Tsiang. One such plausible proposal was advanced by an amateur archaeologist Dr. Lawrence Austine Waddell in 1892 A.D.

Waddells' Proposal – Chitratala, the 'Che-li-ta-lo'

'Born in Scotland on 29 May 1854 and trained as an MD at the University of Glasgow, Dr. Waddell came to India at the age of

twenty-six to join the Indian Medical Service (IMS).' (11.p.121) Besides his medical profession, he took interest inarchaeological explorations and used to devote a portion of his holidays in search of celebrated sites allied with Buddha's life. His hobby was transformed into a more serious investigation by the mid-1890s. (11.p.123) Pursueing Hiuen Tsiang's narrative and route, he traversed most parts of the country to probe details of archaeologival findings and gathered first-hand knowledge from the natives. His eneavour could unearth some of the ancient sites that defied the discovery of professional archaeologists, Dr. Anton Fuhrer and Sir Alexander Cunningham. One of his significant breakthroughs was to flag a spot for Hiuen Tsiang's Che-Li-Ta-Lo within the limits of seventh century Odra country. His paper titled "*Identification of the old Orissan (Odishan) port of Chitratala, the 'Che-li-ta-lo' of Hiuen Tsiang*" was published in *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, January to December, 1892.

On 7th December, 1892, in the monthly general meeting of the Society, presided by the Hon'ble Sir C. A. Elliott, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., the paper was presented, that is reproduced below:

> "In regard to few of the ancient Indian sites described by Hiuen Tsiang, have more widely divergent attempts at identification been made than in the case of the old Orissan (Odishan) port of 'Che-li-ta-lo.' St. Martin, Cunningham, Fergusson, &c., having each selected widely different sites, in various parts of Orissa (Odisha) and Western Bengal-over 200 miles apart, and none of them satisfy the pilgrims' description even in a general way.
>
> This wide divergence of opinion has been due partly to the want of local knowledge on the part of the writers and also to the geographical vagueness of the country of 'U-Cha' in which this port was located, owing to the non-identification of the preceding capital of Karnasuvarna from which the pilgrims' route is calculated and described.
>
> In a recent paper, I have fixed the site of the capital of Karnasuvarna as being almost certainly at Kansonnagar near the

Kanchannagar suburb of Burdwan town. And by the same process which proved so successful in that deltaic inquiry, viz, by searching along the old rivers of the delta for the survival of the name and also taking into account the traditional capital and ports of the people, I have been led to determine locally the site of the old Orissan (Odishan) port of 'Che-li-ta-lo.'

At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, *circa* 640 A. D., Yajapur (Jajpur), was undoubtedly the capital of the country of 'U-Cha' – the northern portion of Orissa (Odisha) which lay to the south-west of Karnasuvarna, and to the north-east of 'Kong-u-tha' (Khordha-Kongoda) north of Kalinga. Indeed the 'U-Cha' of the pilgrim seems intended to represent the Sanskrit Ya-ja.

Hiuen Tsiang describes the port thus: – 'On the south-eastern frontiers of the country (of U-Cha) on the borders of the ocean, is the town of Che-li-ta-lo, about 20 li round. Here it is merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way. The walls of the city are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles. Outside the city are five convents one after the other; their storeyed towers are very high and carved with figures of the saints exquisitely.'

In the locality here indicated – in exact keeping geographically with the distances and directions noted by the pilgrim – in the Mahanadi delta, about 15 miles below Cuttack, we find the older channel of the great Mahanadi River is still known as the '*Chitratola* (Chitroptala) River,' although no village or town of that name now exists on its banks. But at the highest point of this part of the Mahanadi channel, where the name of Chitratola still clings to this branch of the Mahanadi, at the village of Nendra, opposite Kendwapatana lock of the Kendrapara canal, the villagers point out the site of the old port on what is now a vast expanse of sand in the river bed. And they relate the tradition that the town and port of Chitratola which stood there, was cut away by the river long before the Mahratta (Maratha) occupation of Orissa (Odisha); and that most of its inhabitants removed to the northern bank of the river and further down the delta to Kendwapatana and Kendrapara.

The former proximity of this port, the sea and its tidal character, are attested by the name of the other branch, here given off by the Chitratola River, viz., the Nuna (Luna) Nadi or 'The Salt River,'

which again joining the Chitratola River further down, discharges into the sea at False Point. And along the Chitratola and Nuna Rivers is found growing luxuriantly the dwarf Screw-pine which fringes the salt-water swamps near the sea.

The site of Chitratola is now inland about 50 miles from the present coast line and about 15 miles above tidal limits-the seabord having retired before the immense amount of silt brought down by the Mahanadi from the Central Indian Highlands, from a hill-area, according to Hunter, of 45,000 square miles. And, as the Mahanadi delta is very short and deep, the alluvial accretion must have buried up much of the remains seen by the pilgrims over 1,200 years ago. The great demand also for blocks of stone to stay the erosions of the Mahanadi River and latterly for the irrigation and transit canals must have consumed most of the superficial stones.

But there are still a good many old remains in the high tract immediately to the south of and continuous with the eroded site of Chitratola, consisting of several old tanks, carved lateritic blocks strewn throughout the adjoining villages of Nendra and Manikpur; and several old Jaina and Saivic Hindu images of laterite and basalt enshrined in buildings of great carved laterite blocks rudely piled together, and evidently survivals of the wreck of former temples, thus preserved by the inhabitants of these decayed villages. I had no leisure to explore the neighbourhood, but a careful search through the adjoining villages on both banks of the rivers would doubtless reveal numerous other remains and traces of the Buddhist convents which were in its neighbourhood. I was informed that many carved stones exist in the adjoining villages of Samitunga, Santpur, Santolo, and Bandarpur – one to two miles to the south of Nendra.

The modern restoration of Hiuen Tsiang's phonetic transcription of the name of this port, as adopted by Julien, and followed by subsequent writers, viz., '*Charitra*' is thus doubtfully correct. The original name seems more nearly to resemble or be identical with the still current name – '*Chitratola*.' Most of the Orissan (Odishan) place-names of a Sanskritic origin are found to have preserved their medieval form remarkably well. The pargana or parish between this site and the present seabord is called '*Chhedra Kila*' in the old

> Muhammadan maps. And the relatively recent formation of this part of the delta is well seen in the adjoining parganas which are named *Suknai* or 'the dry,' and *Nayakhand* or 'the new tract.'
>
> This identification is of considerable geological interest, as it affords data for estimating the rate of the process of deltaic land-formation within the past 1,250 years." (07.p.184-186)

Watters, 1904, provisionally accepted the site described by Dr. Waddell as that of Che-Li-Ta-Lo though he did not appreciate Waddell's rendering of U-Cha as Sanskrit '*Yaja*'. (137.II.p.195) However, recent discovery of a number of Buddhist sites along the bank of river Chitroptala including the remains of a monastic complex reinforces the suggestion of Dr. Waddell.

BRAHMAVANA ON CHITROPTALA

The River Chitroptala, a tributary of the Mahanadi, branches off the parent stream at about 17 kilometres north-east of Cuttack. After flowing a few kilometers eastwards, it bifurcates into Chitroptala and Luna. 'Many Buddhist sites along the banks of this river have been discovered in villages Buhalo (Fakirpatana), Kulanapur, Kendrapara, Kendupatna, Mahanga, Nagaspur and Natara. (40.p.43) The site near village Kulanapur is a large sandy mound of about a kilometer long that has been named as Brahmavana (Lat. 20° 28' N.; Long. 86° 07' E.). Partial excavation of this mound by the Odisha state Archaeology department has unearthed the remains of a brick stupa and monastery along with stone images of Buddha, Tara, Avalokitesvara, Manjusri and Vajrasattva. These images are being worshipped as Hindu deities. Major monastic establishments of Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri are not being too far Brahmavana has the potential to be identified as a commercial hub of the early period.

Fig.3.19 The Brahmavana on the bank of River Chitroptala

Fig.3.20 Ruins of Monastery at Brahmavana

Fig.3.21 Buddhist Deities at Brahmavana

Brahmavana can be reached from Salepur, a town of Cuttack district famous for Rasagulla, the syrupy dessert prepared from cheese. Proceeding from the bazaar on College Road, one has to cross a single lane bridge over the canal and take left turn on the canal embankment. Keeping the village Kulanapur to the left, a laterite stone-walled mound will be visible, beyond the rice fields on the right. The wide expanse of river Chitroptala presents a magnificent view from this mound, which points to a past when it was a riverine port.

At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, the language of Odisha was Odra Prakrit, more or less analogous to Sanskrit. The names of places that the pilgrim heard in conversation were in local dialects. In his transcription the pilgrim would naturally therefore reproduce, as a rule, the Prakrit or vernacular forms of Indian names. (137.I.p.vi) There is every likelyhood of Hiuen Tsiang being told the name of the port city as "*Chitatala*" in colloquial dialect, which he reported as '*Chelitalo*'. Surprisingly the old Survey of India map of Cuttack district mentions the name of river Chitroptala as "*Chitartala*", which might be the vernacular spoken name.

CONCLUSION

The growth of so many satellite centres of pilgrimage in the valley of river Brahmani and Birupa was largely due to the contributions of trader community. The merchants engaged in overseas commerce are expected to have settled in close proximity to the monastic establishments of Lalitagiri, Langudi, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri; and the commercial urban centre must have been somewhere nearby. Over the years, there have been lots of changes in geography and topography of the coast line. This particular zone being an accreting delta, the seventh

century coastline is to be looked for a few kilometers inland, maybe nearer to these Buddhist shrines.

With the above analysis, it is difficult to peg the exact location of Hiuen Tsiang's Che-Li-Ta-Lo, but considering the landmarks mentioned by the pilgrim, the physical aspects, the fertile tract and navigable rivers connecting the mineral rich zones, it would be most appropriate to search for the port city within the limits of seventh century Odra country, to the north of Mahanadi and the south of Baitarani. Or else, it would lead to fallacious speculations.

NOTES

1. The value of the Chinese li, in seventh century, was 1079.12 feet, or say one-fifth of an English mile

* In Chinese, Fa-hing, "city of departure"

4

Ho-ling: The Kalinga in Java

The Chinese sources inform that during the period of Tang dynasty, there existed a kingdom named Ho-ling in java. Tang dynasty ruled China for about three hundred years staring from the early seventh century A.D. The reign of this imperial dynasty is considered as the golden age of cosmopolitan culture in Chinese history. Their dominating presence both in Indian Ocean and in the Silk Route not only brought commercial prosperity for the nation but also obliged foreign countries to send missions to establish trade links with China. One such country "Ho-ling" has been reported to have sent missions from Java to the T'ang court.

The envoys of foreign missions coming to China were cross-examined by the *Hung lu ssŭ* to prepare report for the emperor. These reports were later available to historians to be incorporated in the official history of the dynasty. The history of Tang dynasty was compiled twice; the first one known as '*Chiu T'ang shu*' or the *Old Book of Tang*, was completed and presented to the Emperor in 945 A.D. The revised edition called '*Hsin T'ang shu*' or the *New Book of Tang* was completed in 1060 A.D. Both the editions report on the trade missions of Ho-ling to China. According to these sources, 'Ho-ling had sent two series of missions to China; the first was in 640, 648, and 666 A. D., and the second in 768, 769, 770, 813, 815, and 818 A. D. Thereafter the name Ho-ling disappears and is replaced by

Shê-p'o, which sent missions in 820, 831, 839, A. D. and after a break in 860-873 A. D.' (93.p.214) *Shê-p'o* or *Chö-p'o* (French system), in T'ang period was pronounced as *Dz̧'ia-b'uâ*, which would mean "Jawa or Java."

The '*Hsin T'ang shu'* describes Ho-ling in these words:

> "Ho-ling, it is also called *Shê-p'o* and *Shê-p'o* [the *Shê* – is represented by different characters]. It is in the southern ocean. To its east lies *P'o-li*. To its west lies *To-p'o-teng*. Its south is adjacent to the southern ocean and its north to *Chen-la* [Cambodia]. The city wall is made of wood. Though the buildings are large, they are also covered. The couches are made of ivory and resemble mats. The country produces tortoise shell, yellow and white gold, rhinoceros, and elephants. The country is exceedingly rich. They also use the flowers of the coconut palm for wine. When one drinks (this wine) one may then become intoxicated. In the mountains there are caves from which salt oozes out. The people of this country collect the salt and eat it. They have a script and understand astronomy. When they eat they do not use spoons and chopsticks. The ruler lives in the [capital] city of *Shê-p'o*. His ancestor *Chi-yen* moved eastwards to the city of *P'o-lu-chia-ssŭ*. On the borders [of Ho-ling] there are 28 small countries, all of which owe allegiance to Ho-ling. There are 32 great ministers and the *Ta-tso-kan-hsiung* is the chief of them. On the top of a mountain there is the province of *Lang-pi-ya*. The ruler frequently ascends this mountain to gaze at the sea." (93.p.216)

'Ho-ling' has been generally accepted as the Chinese transcription for 'Kalinga'. It appears that Java was named after Kalinga for few centuries in the history. Such a naming would suggest that the people from ancient Odisha not only colonised the island but were able to ascend to such prominence and power that they could name the new settlement with the name of their native place.

In this chapter, the name 'Ho-ling' will be used for the early Javanese kingdom 'Kalinga' to avoid confusion with the mainland 'Kalinga', the ancient name of Odisha.

OVERSEAS COLONIES OF KALINGA

It is believed that with the intent of establishing adequate control over the international maritime route, the brave Kalingans (the Kalinga *Sahasikas*) migrated to far off islands of Indian Ocean and built colonies. The geographical location of Java on the maritime highway between East and West provided the island-nation with a high degree of commercial significance. Being situated within ten degree latitude, the island enjoys a climate of warm summer throughout the year and the only change of seasons is from dry to wet. The region is under the influence of the monsoons but free from hurricanes. The Sunda Strait on the north-west and Bali strait to the east connect the Java Sea with the Indian Ocean that stretches as far as the Antarctica without intermediary land mass. The Java Sea offers ideal position for a maritime base to pursue trade with China as well as with the Arabs and Roman Empire. The locational advantage of this island had lured the seafarers of ancient Odisha to migrate and colonise.

Many scholars have acknowledged the role of Kalinga in the process of colonisation of Java and other Southeast Asian countries. Some such noteworthy passages from the writings of eminent historians are quoted in the following paragraphs for the appreciation of the readers:

John Crawfurd, the author of '*History of The Indian Archipelago'*, was the British Resident in the Court of the Sultan of Java from 1811 A.D. for a period of nearly six years, during which he had the opportunity of acquiring historical information regarding the country and its inhabitants. His intercourse with the locals as well as people frequenting Java for commercial purposes provided him with lots of personal

experience. His observations on colonisation of Java in early centuries of Christian era read as under:

> 'The Indians who have settled there are chiefly from the east coast of the peninsula and the natives of the country call them, most properly Kalinga.' (37.I.p.133) 'Kalinga is the only country of India known to the Javanese by its proper name, the only country familiar to them, – and the only one mentioned in their books, with the exception of those current in religious legends. Hence they designate India always by this name, and know it by no other, except, indeed, when, by a vanity for which their ignorance is an apology, they would infer the equality of their island with that great country, and speak of them relatively, as the countries on this or that side of the water. It is to Kalinga that the Javanese universally ascribe the origin of their Hinduism; and the more recent and authentic testimony of the Brahmins of Bali, who made me a similar assurance, as will be seen in another part of the work, is still more satisfactory.' (37.II.p.226-227) An examination of the institutions of the Indian islanders furnishes an argument, and, as far as I know, one only, in favour of the hypothesis of Kalinga being the native country of those who propagated Hinduism in the Indian islands." (37.II.p.229)

The observation of Mr. Crawfurd regarding dissemination of Hinduism in Java by the people and priests from Kalinga is also supported by Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, 1843. Elphinstone opined that 'The histories of Java give a distinct account of a numerous body of Hindus from Clinga (Kalinga), who landed on their island, civilised the inhabitants, and who fixed the date of their arrival by establishing the era still subsisting, the first year of which fell in the seventy-fifth year before Christ. The truth of this narrative is proved beyond doubt by the numerous and magnificent Hindu remains that still exist in Java, and by the fact that, although the common language is Malay, the sacred language, that of historical and poetical compositions, and of most inscriptions, is a dialect of Sanskrit. (96.I.p.327)

Regarding the language, John Crawfurd mentions that the Javanese words have the ingredients from 'vernacular language of Kalinga'. (37.II.p.44) He has appended a long list of vocabularies of the Javanese and other Indonesian language in Volume-II pp 125-191. Some Javanese words of the list, comparable to Odia vocabulary, are reproduced below:

English	Javanese	Odia
sun	suryo	surya
moon	sasi	sashi
east	purwo	purba
west	panchim	paschima
south	daksino	daksina
north	utoro	utara
rain	warso	barsa
sea	sagoro, samudro	sagara, samudra
charcoal	arang	angara
cloud	mego, jalodoro	megha, jaladhara
wind	maruto, pawono	maruta, pabana
body	saliro, sariro	sarira
head	sirah, murdo, mustoko	sira, munda, mastaka
face	muko	mukha
ear	karno	kana
tooth	danto	danta
hand	hasto	hata
lion	singo	singha
buffalo	mahiso	mainsi
fish	mino, matsyo	mina, machha
honey	madu	madhu, mahu
cotton	kapas	kapa
pomegranate	dalimo	dalimba
black pepper	maricho	gola maricha
victory	joyo, wijoyo	jaya, bijaya
witness	saksi	sakhi
oath	sapoto	sapatha
country	deso	desa
city	nagari	nagara
crown	makuto	makuta
heaven	swargoloko	sworgoloka

As late as 2015, during my visit to Java, I was surprised to notice some Odia words surviving in their vocabulary. Few of these words, which I could jot down in my limited scope of conversation with the locals, are presented below:

English	Javanese	Odia
blessings	anugraha	anugraha
cave	gowa or goa	guha or gumpha
daughter	wanita	banita
full moon	purnama	purnami, purnima
key bunch	kunchi	kunchi or kanchi
north	utara	utara
two	dua	duee

It was observed that most of the inscriptions (*Prasastis*) issued during the Hindu-Buddhist period in Java were in language of 'Odra Prakrit', an early Indo-Aryan language that can be compared with ancient Sanskrit. Some of these inscriptions will be discussed in this chapter.

Professor Radhakumud Mookerji, in his 1912 publication 'A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times' wrote:

> "Perhaps the most interesting and conspicuous fact in connection with the Indian maritime activity towards the East is the Hindu colonisation of Java, one of the most glorious achievements recorded in the entire history of the country. And yet the first impulse to this colonising activity and expansion of India had its origin in the obscure kingdom of Kalinga, whose early history nobody knows or cares to know. As far back as the seventy-fifth year of the Christian era a band of Hindu navigators sailed from Kalinga, and, instead of plying within the usual limits of the Bay of Bengal, boldly ventured out into the open limitless expanse of the Indian Ocean and arrived at the island of Java. There the adventurous navigators planted a colony, built towns and cities, and developed a trade with the mother country which existed for

> several centuries." "That Kalinga had a large share in the colonisation of Java and the adjacent islands is hinted at not only in the native chronicles of Java but is also accepted as truth by many competent scholars." (46.p.148-149)

The author of '*A Maritime History of India'*, 1982, Rear Admiral K. Sridharan acclaims the maritime role of Kalinga in the following words:

> "It will be appropriate to examine here the glorious part played by the Kalingas in the shaping of the maritime history of India. Indeed, they were responsible for having initiated the adventurous spirit of immigrating to Java. It is known that Kalinga seafarers made a bold oceanic voyage and managed to land at Java as early as 75 A.D. Having landed, they settled in the island, built up their contacts and developed regular trade with the mainland of India. This marked the beginning of an era of Hindu civilisation in this area of the Far East. There are not only the legendary chronicles of the 'Klings' (Kalingas) having emigrated to Java, there is also inscriptional and architectural evidence in those regions." (62.p.36)

Dr. I. G. P. Phalgunadi, an Indonesian scholar, in his article "Hinduism in Bali (Indonesia)" published in '*Kalinga-Indonesian Cultural Relation*' by the Odishan Institute of Maritime and Southeast Asian Studies, 2007, illustrates the impact of Kalinga in colonisation of Java and Bali. He remarks:

> "We learn from a study of Chinese records by scholars that in the beginning there was also a flourishing Hindu kingdom around the third-fourth century A.D. in Indonesia, especially in Bali and Java, set up as believed, by the Kings of people from Kalinga in India. Asoka attacked Kalinga (Odisha) in the third century B.C. and Harsavardhana in the seventh century AD. Due to these attacks, some people of ancient Kalinga (Odisha) might have fled to Indonesia. It may have been an important factor for the rise of Kalinga Kingdom in Central Java. Besides, many of them settled permanently in Bali. The Brahmana Odia emigrants are still called "Brahmana Buddha Kalinga" by the Balinese. It indicates that emigrants were from Kalinga (Odisha). Legends and traditions mention about the early Kalinga settlements in Indonesia. It is said

> that the Prince of Kalinga (Odisha) sent twenty thousand families to Java. In due course of time, they multiplied the population. They obeyed the almighty king named Kano. His successors continued to rule for about four hundred years." (55.p.128)

While correlating some of the linguistic and customary parallels, he observes:

> "I may mention here that I found a number of basic words used by Odias, some crafts, some forms of worship and some peculiar food-habits prevalent in Odisha to be common with Indonesia, especially with Bali and Java. For instance, we call the mother *Boo (bu)* in Indonesia like *Bou* in Odia and father as *Bapa* (in Indonesia) or *Boo* (in Javanese) or *Bapa* (in Balinese) as in Odia. Betel nut is called *Goah* or *Buah* in Balinese as in Odia. Ground-nut is called *Kacang China* in Bali, like Chinabadam in Odia." (55.p.129)

Some historians propose that the initial immigration to Java originated from Gujarat. They rely upon a legend which lends support to a tale in the chronicles of Java that a prince, Aji Saka, is believed to have gone to the island from India in 75 A.D. But according to Radha Kumud Mookerji "this story was perhaps invented only to show the connection of the ancient royal dynasty of Java with the Saka king of northern India". (62.p.36) Professor Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca University, the author of '*Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*' – *Suvarnadvipa*, 1937, on analysing various legends of Java concludes that migration from Gujarat took place at a later date. He is of the view that "the Hindus from Kalinga and the Muhammadans from Gujarat may be regarded, on satisfactory grounds, to have taken the leading part in establishing respectively the Hindu and Muhammadan culture in Java. This probably explains the frequent reference to these two places in the legends." (82.II.p.96)

Modern historians are of the view that large scale migration from ancient Odisha to Southeast Asia took place before and during the bloody invasion of Kalinga by Asoka Maurya in third

century B.C. Dr. N. K. Sahu is of the opinion that while Bindusara, the second in line of Maurya dynasty, remained busy in consolidating the Magadha empire as a territorial power, Kalinga tried to buildup her strength as an overseas power and established her colonies in Burma and Philippines and even spread her influence over the islands of Indian archipelago. According to Dr. Sahu, "the main causes of conflict between Magadha and Kalinga were both political and economic." But "the economic factors accelerated the cause for the war. The overseas activities of Kalinga threatened the economic and commercial interest of Magadha. As Magadha was not an important sea power she had to depend on other friendly states having overseas commerce to sustain her own economic interest. She would face economic collapse if the coast would be blocked against her. The hostile attitude of the traders of Kalinga inflicted a serious damage on her which is alluded to by Lama Taranath. According to Taranath '*the serpents of the Eastern seas stole away the jewels of Asoka at which the emperor became angry and invaded their territory*'. Thus a war with Kalinga was not only political but also of economic necessity." (89.p.41-42)

Dr. Romila Thapar, 2002, as well in agreement with this view, observes:

> "At the time of Bindusara's death in c. 272 BC, a large part of the subcontinent had come under Mauryan suzerainty. One area that was hostile, possibly interfering with Mauryan commerce to the peninsula and south India, was Kalinga on the east coast (Odisha). Its conquest was left to Bindusara's son Asoka, whose campaign in Kalinga was more than just an event of military significance." (26.p.178) "In about 260 (261) BC Asoka campaigned against the Kalingans and routed them. Presumably the campaign was to obtain resources from Kalinga; to safeguard the routes of the profitable Mauryan trade with the peninsula that went past the eastern coast; or to chastise the Kalingans for having broken away from Magadhan control." (26.p.180)

Asoka describes his achievements and experience of Kalinga war in the XIII Major Edict. Dr. Thapar's translation of this edict states that apart from the '*hundred thousand people killed, hundred and fifty thousand people deported, many times that number perished but those who are fortunate to have escaped'*. (26.p.181) It implies that during the invasion of Kalinga by Asoka, a sizable number of powerful and well-off people escaped and to them he calls "fortunate" as he could not repress them. The only route to escape was the vast expanse of the "Eastern Sea" (presently the Bay of Bengal) leading to the islands of Indian Ocean. Kalinga had the naval supremacy and they were in control of the maritime trade routes to Southeast Asia and China. They had established commercial hubs in Island countries at strategic locations along the trade route. The assault on Kalinga forced the seafarers to escape to those colonies in large number.

The immigration and building up of overseas colonies by Kalinga mariners continued thereafter. With the decline of Maurya Empire, Kalinga entered into another phase of eminence. By mid-first century BC, it became politically dominant and economically prosperous region in India under the leadership of Maha Meghavahana Aira Kharabela of Chedi dynasty. Kharabela revitalised Kalinga and restored its supremacy over the maritime trade with full control of the east coast of India. The traditional rival, Tamil confederacy, which included Cholas, Pandyas, Satyaputras, Keralaputras, and Tamraparni (Sri Lanka), were subjugated by Kharabela in his eleventh regnal year. The Hathigumpha inscription records that the Pandya king on behalf of the league brought to Kalinganagari large quantities of pearls, jewels and precious stones as a token of allegiance. In second century A. D. the Chedi dynasty was replaced by the Indo-Scythian Murundas. Numismatic evidences of second and third centuries A.D. and the Chinese sources testify the commercial prosperity of Kalinga during Murunda rule. The death of Guhasiva in fourth century A.D. appears to be the end of

Murunda reign in Kalinga. This might be the period of another large scale exodus from Kalinga to Southeast Asia that helped in formation of state and achievement of political power. It is believed that the emergence of Ho-ling in Java synchronised with this fresh immigration from Kalinga. The influx must have been heavy, as it succeeded in establishing a new territory in central Java or rechristening an old state of that region under a new name.

Kenneth R. Hall, 2011, informs that "Ho-ling in central Java and Ho-lo-tan on the north-western Java coast were the two fifth-century Javanese centers with which the Chinese interacted. Ho-ling sent envoys to China in 430 A.D. and 440 A.D. but is not mentioned in sixth-century Chinese records." According to him "the story of the north Indian Buddhist pilgrim Gunavarman records the emergence of Ho-ling (central Java) as a political entity. In 422 A.D., Gunavarman stopped at Ho-ling on his way to China." (27.p.106)

"The story of Gunavarman, has been described in '*Kao seng tchouan*' or '*Biography of famous monks*', that was compiled in 519 A.D. Gunavarman (*K'ieou-na-pa-mo*), grandson of Haribhadra (*Ho-li-pa-t'o*), and son of Sanghananda (*Seng-kia-a-nan*), belonged to the royal family of Ki-pin (Kashmir or Kapisa). The natural bent of his mind was to religion. When he was thirty years old, the king of Ki-pin died without issue, and the throne was offered to him. But he rejected the offer and went to Ceylon. Later he proceeded to Java. During the night preceding his arrival, the mother of the king of Java saw in a dream that a monk was coming to Java in a sailing vessel. Gunavarman arrived in the morning, and the queen-mother was converted to Buddhism. Gradually the king, too, was persuaded by his mother to adopt the same faith. At this time Java was attacked by hostile troops. The king asked Gunavarman, whether it would be contrary to Buddhist law if he fought against his enemy. Gunavarman replied that it was the duty of everybody to punish

the robbers. The king then went to fight and obtained a great victory. Gradually Buddhism spread throughout the kingdom. The king then wished to lead the life of a monk but was dissuaded from this course by his ministers on the express condition that thereafter no living creatures should be killed throughout the length and breadth of the country. The name and fame of Gunavarman had spread in all directions. In 424 A.D. the Chinese monks requested their emperor Wen Ti (424-453) to invite Gunavarman to China. Accordingly the Chinese emperor ordered a ship to fetch the illustrious Buddhist, but before it arrived, Gunavarman embarked on a vessel, owned by the Hindu merchant Nandin (*Nan-t'i*), and reached Nankin in 431 A.D. A few months later he died at the age of sixty-five." (82.II.p.104)

After fifth century, Chinese contact with Ho-ling has not been reported in the annals of either the Liang dynasty (502-557 A.D.) or the Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.). However, Cribb, 2000, places Ho-ling as a kingdom of sixth century vintage in central Java.

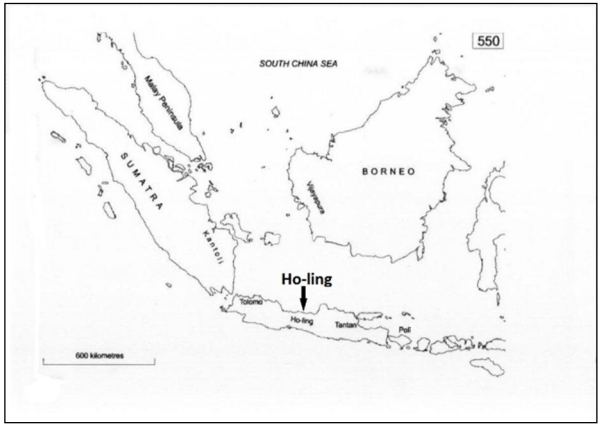


Fig.4.1 Ho-ling in ca 550 A.D.

Adapted from 'Historical Atlas of Indonesia' by R. B. Cribb, Robert Cribb, 2000, pp. 75, published by University of Hawai Press (98.p.75)

By the seventh century A.D., Ho-ling had grown into an important naval and commercial power. Apart from China, it had established trade links with the kingdoms of north Indian Emperor Harshavardhan and south Indian Emperor Pulakeshin II.

SRIVIJAYA: THE INDONESIAN MARITIME POWER

There were other contemporary kingdoms in Southeast Asia having commercial intercourse with China. Amongst them, the most prominent was Srivijaya, with its base at Palembang in Sumatra. This kingdom was referred to as *Fo-che* or *Che-li-foche* (Shih-li-fo-shih) by the Chinese and *Sribuza* by the Arabs. However, the existence of this realm was forgotten till it was made known to the world by the French historian George Coedes through his publication in the Dutch and Indonesian-language newspapers in 1920 A. D. The maritime kingdom Srivijaya was active between the seventh and twelfth centuries having close links with both China and India. 'The Chinese records and Arab sources, describe it as a place of significance and status in the region so that it attracted a great deal of trade. It was also renowned as a centre of Buddhist learning where Chinese pilgrims could go to study and prepare for visits to the holy sites of Buddhism in India.' (38.p.47)

'The Chinese Annals state that several embassies came from Srivijaya to China during the period between 670 A. D. and 741 A. D. The date of the earliest embassy cannot be ascertained, but there is no doubt that it was before 695 A. D. By an imperial Chinese edict dated in that year, orders were issued for supplying provisions to the ambassadors of different countries then living in the Chinese court. Thus provisions for six months were to be given to ambassadors from North India, South India, Persia, and Arabia; provisions for five months were

to be given to ambassadors from Srivijaya, Chen-la (Cambodia), Ho-ling (Kalinga in Java) and other kingdoms; to envoys from Champa provisions were to be given only for three months. It appears, therefore, that Srivijaya was already recognised as a leading state before the close of the seventh century A. D.' (82.II.p.124)

The Buddhist monk I-tsing, who took the sea route from China to India, reached Srivijaya in 671 A.D., and stayed there for six months before proceeding to India. This indicates that Srivijaya had established trade link with China before the arrival of the Chinese pilgrim and may be immediately after the last seventh century mission of Ho-ling in 666 A.D.

During the early years of its development, Srivijaya contemplated to gain control over the international commercial route and become the most prominent regional participant in the flows of East-West trade. With the ambition to achieve the status of China's preferred trade partner, Srivijaya pursued an aggressive policy and by 683 A. D., it had established its political supremacy not only over Malayu (Jambi), but also over the neighbouring island of Bangka. 'By 700 A.D., Srivijaya had acquired a territorial outpost on the south-western Malaya Peninsula, which gave it a commanding position on the straits of Malacca.' (93.p.229) 'The Srivijayan rulers were only concerned to occupy strategic points on the main trade routes. The local chiefs were probably often invested as vassals.' (93.p.239) But Ho-ling defied coming under its suzerainty and Srivijaya sent an unsuccessful military expedition to this powerful kingdom of Java. This incident about the Srivijaya's effort to subdue Bhumi Java has been referred to in the Kota Kapur inscription of 28 April, 686 A.D.

Fig.4.2 Kota Kapur Inscription

Prasasti Kota Kapur as displayed in the National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta, under the inventory number D.90

'Historians believe that the Chinese connection was critical to Srivijaya's prosperity and that Srivijaya's power was dependent upon the fluctuations of the Chinese economy. When trade with China's ports was prosperous, Srivijaya thrived. But when China's ports periodically closed, the economic repercussions were disastrous to Srivijaya's political authority. With declining revenues from trade, Srivijaya was unable to maintain the loyalty of its seafarers, who shifted their energies to open piracy.' (27.p.32)

In the quest for commercial monopoly, Srivijaya continued sending missions to China more frequently in the first half of

eighth century. 'Two embassies from Srivijaya visited China in 702 and 716 A. D. In 724 A. D. the king of Srivijaya named *Che-li-t'o-lo-pa-ino* (*Sri Indravarman*) sent an ambassador with presents consisting of two dwarfs, a Negro girl, a party of musicians, and a parrot of five colours. The ambassador is called Kumara. It might be a personal name, or denote the crown prince. The emperor conferred on him the title of *tcho-tch'ong* (general) and presented him 100 pieces of silk. He also conferred an honorary title upon the king. In 728 the king of Srivijaya again presented the emperor with parrots of motley colours. In 742 the king sent his son to the Chinese court with customary offerings, and was again rewarded with an honorary title.' (82.II.p.124)

HO-LING'S WOMAN RULER

While Sumatran kingdom Srivijaya was busy in reinforcing its commercial ties with China, the Javanese kingdom Ho-ling was expanding as an important territorial power in the region. The neighbouring states were scared of its strength. In the third quarter of seventh century the people of Ho-ling (probably meaning the stronger faction of the royal clan) had chosen an influential woman for the throne. Her authority, fidelity, fame and potency spread far and wide. The *New Book of Tang* dynasty (The *Hsin T'ang shu*) describes the story of the illustrious queen as follows:

> "In 674-5 A. D. the people of this country took as their ruler a woman of the name Si-ma. Her rule was most excellent. Even things dropped on the road were not picked up. The Prince of the Arabs (the Arab colony that existed on the western coast of Sumatra from an early date), hearing of this, sent a bag with gold to be laid down within her frontiers. The people who passed that road avoided it in walking, and it remained there for three years. Once the heir-apparent stepped over that gold and Si-ma became so incensed that she wanted to kill him. Her ministers interceded and then Si-ma said: 'Your fault lies in your feet, therefore it will

> be sufficient to cut them off'. The ministers interceded again, and she had his toes cut off, in order to give an example to the whole nation. When the prince of Tazi heard this, he became afraid and dared not attack her." (82.II.p.113)

The story referring to a particular year seems to have some amount of reality. During the reign of queen Si-ma, Ho-ling was not only powerful but expanded its domain with control over bordering chiefs. Such evidences come from I-tsing's record which provides the most reliable information about the island countries of that region.

I-tsing stayed in Srivijaya for two terms, first in 671 A.D. for six months, and after a break, for about seven years from 688 A.D. to 695 A.D., studying and translating the original Buddhist scriptures and Sutras. With his experience of the geography of the region during that period, he mentioned the names of eleven kingdoms, which he calls 'the Islands of the Southern Sea'. These countries enumerated from the west to the east are:

1. Fo-lu-shi Island; Pulushih
2. Mo-lo-yu Country; Malayu

Or Shih-li-fo-shih Country; Sribhoga (Srivijaya)

3. Mo-ho-hsin Island; Mahasin
4. Ho-ling Island, or Po-ling; Kalinga
5. Tan-tan Island; Natuna
6. P'en-p'en Island; Pem-pen
7. P'o-li Island; Bali
8. K'u-lun Island; Pulo Condore
9. Fo-shih-pu-lo Island; Bhogapura

10. A-shan IslandO-shan

11. Mo-chia-man Island; Maghaman (92.p.xxxix)

The list indicates that, in the seventh century, there was one major realm, *Mo-ho-hsin*, between Srivijaya and Ho-ling, and two toponyms, *Tan-tan* and *P'en-p'en*, between Ho-ling and Bali.

But the situation changed subsequently. Both the *Old* and *New Book of Tang* dynasty, while reporting the eighth century revival of Ho-ling's missions to China, puts the position of neighbouring county *P'o-li* (Bali) immediately to the east of Ho-ling. It would suggest that the two kingdoms *Tan-tan* and *P'en-p'en*; that existed in the list of I-tsing, have been subjugated by Ho-ling extending its eastern limit close to Bali. This period of expansion coincides with the hegemony of Queen Si-ma.

Coincidently, around this period, China was also ruled by a lady emperor of T'ang dynasty. Empress Wu married Emperor Gaozong (650-683 A.D.), the third emperor of the T'ang dynasty in 655 A.D. Emperor Gaozong suffered a series of stroke which left him incapacitated. In the process of assisting the ailing emperor, Wu wielded considerable political power and after his death in 683, she became the Empress regnant of China. Wu Zetian's period of political and military leadership (684-705 A.D.) includes the major expansion of the Chinese empire, extending it far beyond its previous territorial limits, deep into Central Asia, and the completion of the conquest of the upper Korean Peninsula. Within China, besides the more direct consequences of her struggle to gain and maintain supreme power, Wu's leadership resulted in important effects in regards to social class in Chinese society and in relation to state support for Taoism, Buddhism, education, and literature.

Absence of missions from Ho-ling after 666 A.D., till the second half of the eighth century, give rise to speculations that

Srivijaya's intrusion might have led to a decline in Ho-ling's trade with China. But the two reported incidents, i.e. the narrative in new history of T'ang dynasty regarding the rule of a powerful queen Si-ma in Ho-ling and imperial edict orders of 695 A.D., for supplying provisions to the ambassador of Ho-ling in the Chinese court; endorse the continuity of diplomatic and commercial relationship of Ho-ling with China. Maybe the two authoritative women rulers, Empress Wu of China and Queen Si-ma of Ho-ling, who ruled by decree, had otherwise developed closer economic co-operation that dispensed with sending emissaries during the period.

The second series of missions from Ho-ling is reported to be in 768, 769, 770, and, with a break, in 813, 815, and 818 A.D. Deputing emissaries consecutively in a row for three years after the silence for about a century, signifies some political and territorial readjustment in the regional toponym. The Javanese epigraphic sources reveal the appearance of worthy personalities and new regimes during the eighth century. Three inscriptions from central Java are of paramount importance: Prasasti 'Canggal' of 732 A.D. informs on the heroic regime of Saivite Sanjaya whereas Prasasti 'Kalasan' of 778 A.D. and 'Kelurak' of 782 A.D. report on the glorious reign of Mahayanist Sailendras.

SANJAYA THE LEGENDARY HERO

The earliest dated inscription of Central Java known as Prasasti 'Canggal or Janggal' was discovered in the Gunung Wukir temple complex in Kadiluwih village, some 10 kms east of Chandi Borobudur. It was announced at the Royal Academy, Amsterdam, in its session of 10th March 1884.

Fig.4.3 Prasasti Canggal
Prasasti Canggal as displayed in the National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta, under the inventory number D.04

This charter is composed of 12 verses in Prakrit language. It records that in Saka era 654 (732 A.D.), *Narapati* Sri Sanjaya consecrated a Siva *linga* on the top of the mountain on a Monday in the month of *Kartika* for the peace of the country. Prayers were offered to Lord Siva to protect the country, remove darkness and bestow abundant measure of bliss. Lord Brahma was invoked to grant success in achieving *dharma*, *artha* and *kama* in this world. Sripati (Lord Vishnu) was worshipped to bestow prosperity.

The inscription, in verse seven, specifically mentions the name of the country as "Java", the glorious island. The nation is extolled as highly productive, rich in grains and mineral wealth (*Sworna prasu*), famed, cherished, supreme and unmatched among all the lands. It further adds that the prosperous country was ruled by an illustrious king named Sanna, who loved his subjects like a father to his child. On his death he was succeeded

by Raja Sri Sanjaya, the son of Sannaha, the sister of Sanna. Sanjay ruled the kingdom righteously, conquered many neighbouring countries and his glory spread far and wide.

The Valour of Sri Sanjaya as referred to in the inscription is corroborated by literary sources. The Sundanese chronicle called '*Carita Parahyangan*', composed around late sixteenth century, provides a long list of of countries conquered by king Sanjay.

The legend narrates that after subjugating Java and Bali, "Sanjaya proceeded to the Malayu country; he fought with Kemir (Khmer), the rahyang Gana is defeated. Again he fought with Keling, sang Sri-Vijaya is defeated. He fought with Barus, ratu Jayadana is defeated. He fought with China, pati Srikaladarma is defeated. Then rahyang Sanjaya returned from his over-sea expedition to Galuh". (82.II.p.230)

Some historians refuse to accept the above account of victories gained by Sanjaya but cannot reject the significance of historical memory of the local people recorded in a popular legend. Whatever it may be, the writings of Prasasti Canggal and description in *Carita Parahyangan* definightly signal that in the first half of the eighth century A.D., a powerful kingdom was founded in Java by king Sanna and his successor Sanjaya had led some expeditions to expand his domain.

The chronicle *Carita Parahyangan* also relates king Sanjaya as the great-grandson of Ho-ling's Queen Si-ma. 'Wisseman Christie, 2001, suggests that by mid-eighth century, Ho-ling was annexed by Sanjaya, who married a woman related to Ho-ling's ruler. Wisseman's theory was criticized by Sundberg. He points out that Ho-ling continued to send embassies to China until 818 A.D., and this argues against the idea of its annexation by Sanjaya.' (78.p.13) Cribb, 2000, agrees with Sundberg and

observes that 'the coastal polity of Ho-ling evidently survived the rise to power of Mataram on the other side of the mountains'. (98.p.85) According to Hall, 2011, 'Ho-ling corresponded to Sanjaya's realm in time and place.' (27.p.122)

The assumption by Hall, 2011, seems to be more appropriate. The Chinese sources inform that mission from Ho-ling was stoped from last part of the seventh century upto first half of the eighth century (from 666 A.D. to 768 A.D.). And this is the period when king Sanna and Sri Sanjaya ruled the country, restoring the name Java. The seventh verse of Canggal inscription (732 A.D.) beginning with 'there is a glorious island by name Java' (*Aasid dwipabaram* Jawa) and the verse eight starting with 'on that island Java' (*Tasmin dwipe Jawa*); remarkably suggest that the name of the country has been changed from Kalinga (Ho-ling) to Java. This position gives good reason for the statement in the Chinese chronicle "Ho-ling (Kalinga) is also called *Shê-p'o*" (Java).

THE CELEBRATED SAILENDRAS

The eighth century monumental grandeur of Java goes in favour of another illustrious and powerful dynasty, the Sailendras. Prasasti Kalasan dated 778 A.D. reveals the rise of this dynasty towards second half of the eighth century, may be after the fall of Sanjaya regime. This inscription was discovered in village Kalasan some 13 km east of Jogyakarta. Presently, it is displayed in the National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta, under the inventory number D.147.

The charter begins with the adoration of Goddess Arya-Tara – "*Namo Bhagavatyai Āryatārāyai*", followed by twelve verses in Prakrit language.

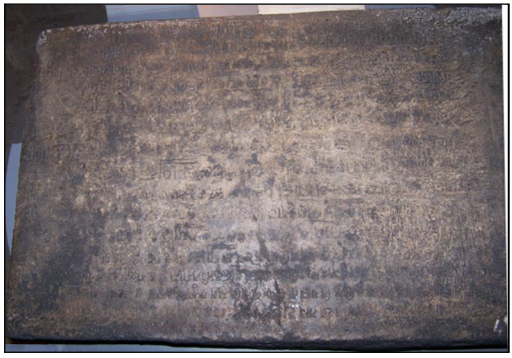
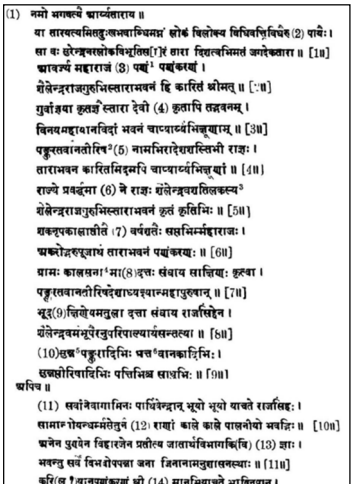


Fig.4.4 Prasasti Kalasan

The record informs that in Saka era 700 (778 A.D.), Maharaja Panamkarana built a splendid temple for the Buddhist deity Tara on the advice and guidance of the royal preceptor of the Sailendra family (*Sailendra rajagurubhih*). The image of goddess Tara was carved by expert artisans at the command of the royal-preceptor and a monastery was established for monks (*Bhikshus*) professing Mahayana sect (*vinaya Mahayana vidam*). When the country was ruled by the jewels of Sailendra dynasty (*rajye pravarddhamane rajnah Sailendravamsatilakasya*), the temple of Tara was built for the worship of the royal preceptor (*Gurupujartham*).

The king also made the grant of village Kalasana in favour of the *Sangha* (Buddhist community) for the maintenance of the temple and monastery in presence of the noble chiefs (*desadhyaksan-mahapurusan*) namely Pangkura, Tavana and Tirisha as witnesses. Maharaja Panamkarana declared the shrine as a common property and "the bridge of religion" ((*dharmmasetuh*). He appealed to all the future kings, again and again, for protection and maintenance of the temple and the *vihara* for all times.



(1) नमो भगवत्यै आर्य्यतारायै ॥
या तारयत्यमितदुःखभवाम्बिधमग्नं लोकं विलोक्य विधिवत्रिविधेन(2) पापैः।
सा वः हरेन्द्रनरलोकविभूतिर्ह्रं तारा दिशत्वभिमतं जगदेकतारा ॥ [1॥]
आवर्ज्य महाराजं (3) पद्मं[1] पद्मंकरया ।
शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्तारामवनं हि कारितं श्रीमत् ॥ [2॥]
गुर्वाज्ञया कृतज्ञैस्तारा देवी (4) कृतापि तद्भवनम् ।
विनयमहाधानविदां भवनं चाप्याब्धिमजूह्याम् ॥ [3॥]
पङ्कुरवानतोरिप[2](5) नामभिरादेशराख्तिभी राज्ञः ।
तारामवन कारितमिदमपि चाप्याब्धिभित्तुर्यां ॥ [4॥]
राज्ये प्रवर्द्धमा (6) ने राज्ञः शैलेन्द्रवशतिलकस्य[3]
शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्तारामवनं कृतं कृतिभिः ॥ [5॥]
शकनृपकालाताीते (7) वर्षशतैः सप्तभिर्म्महाराजः ।
अक्लोद्भरूजाथं तारामवनं पद्मंकरयः ॥ [6॥]
ग्रामः कालसना[4]मा(8)द्दत्तः संवाय साज्ञियः कृत्वा ।
पङ्कुरवानतोरिपदेशाध्यक्ष्यान्महापुरुषान् ॥ [7॥]
भूद्(9)त्रिशेषमतुला दत्ता संवाय राजसिंहेन ।
शैलेन्द्रवमंभूपैरनुपरिपाल्यार्यसन्तत्या ॥ [8॥]
(10)सत्र[5]पङ्कुरादिभिः धत्त[6]वानकादिभिः।
सप्तशोरिपादिभिः पत्तिभिश्च साधभिः ॥ [9॥]
अपिच ॥
(11) सर्वानेवागामिनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते राजसिंहः ।
सामान्योयन्धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [10॥]
अनेन पुण्येन विहारजेन प्रतीत्य जातार्थविभागवित्ति (13) ज्ञाः ।
भवन्तु सर्वे विगतोपसर्गा जना जिनानामनुशासनस्थाः ॥ [11॥]
करि(ल ?)यानयशंकरयां श्री (14) मानभियाचते भाविनृपान् ।
भूयो भूयो विधिवद्विहारपरिपालनार्थमिति । [1 12॥]

Fig.4.5 Text of Prasasti Kalasan (42.II.p.45-46)

Fig.4.6 The ruin of the temple of Tara, now known as Chandi Kalasan

Analytical reading of Prasasti Kalasan would indicate the following:

1. By mid eighth century A.D., Sailendras have implanted their ascendancy over the island country.

2. They were prosperous and expanding.
3. They professed and patronized Mahayana school of Buddhism.
4. Maharaja Panamkarana was neither a follower of Buddhism nor belonged to Sailendra family. He constructed the temple for the "Royal Preceptor of Sailendras" but not his preceptor.
5. The king calls the shrine 'as a common property' and "the bridge of religion" (*dharmmasetuh*). In fact the goddess Tara, a Buddhist deity is also venerated by the Hindus.
6. Most probably Panamkarana was a member of the previous dynasty, and continued as a vassal of Sailendras.
7. Name of the country (Java) is not mentioned in the inscription but at the same time Chinese sources report revival of missions from Ho-ling (Kalinga). Maybe during Sailendra supremacy the country name changed from Java (*Shê-p'o*) to Kalinga (Ho-ling).

This change in political sphere is well explained by the statement in Chinese annals '*Hsin T'ang shu'*, quoted in the beginning of this chapter. The chronicle, inter alia, mentions that:

- Ho-ling is also called *Shê-p'o* (Java). To its east lies *P'o-li*. To its west lies *To-p'o-teng*. Its south is adjacent to the southern ocean and its north to *Chen-la* [Cambodia].
- The country is exceedingly rich.
- On the borders [of Ho-ling] there are 28 small countries, all of which owe allegiance to Ho-ling.
- The ruler lives in the [capital] city of *Shê-p'o*. His ancestor *Chi-yen* moved eastwards to the city of *P'o-lu-chia-ssŭ*.

The above description exalts the Ho-ling's position from what it was in the seventh century as recorded by I-tsing. '*Hsin T'ang shu*', otherwise known as the '*New Book of Tang*', was compiled between 1044 A.D. and 1060 A.D. Therefore, Ho-ling's historical account in this book would surely relate to its second series of missions from 768 A.D. to 818 A.D. This period coincides with the Sailendra rule when Ho-ling continued to expand its hegemony. Ho-ling became a much greater kingdom, subjugating 28 border countries. Sailendras as the paramount monarch extended the empire to Sumatra, Malaya Peninsula and other countries of south-east Asia with the north border touching Cambodia. Srivijaya formed a part of this mighty empire. Wolters, 1967, reports that missions from Srivijaya to China continued from 702 A.D. to 742 A.D. but stopped thereafter. Cessation of mission in the second half of the eighth century would explain that Srivijaya had come under the suzerainty of Ho-ling.

The other statement of *Hsin T'ang shu* that "the ruler [of Ho-ling] lives in the [capital] city of *Shê-p'o;* his ancestor *Chi-yen* moved eastwards to the city of *P'o-lu-chia-ssŭ;"* signals that there has been a change of sovereignty. On Sailendras coming to power the earlier ruling family of Sanjay lineage had moved eastwards. According to a Chinese text the transfer of capital took place during the period 742-755 A. D. The Sanskrit inscription dated A.D. 760 discovered from Dinaya, to the north-east of Malang in East Java, endorses the transfer of capital. This inscription refers to king Devasimha and his son Gajayana. Devasimha worshiped Siva in the form of a *linga* named *Putikesvara*, as the embodiment of the essence of royalty. It is presumed that the dynasty came there from central Java. 'Poerbatjaraka has even gone so far as to identify Gajayana of Dinaya inscription with king *Chi-yen* who moved the capital.'

(82.II.p.249) Being a Saivite, the king of this inscription may probably belong to Sanjaya lineage.

During Sailendra period Ho-ling established its supremacy over the neighbouring seas and coasts and secured control over the commercial route of the Archipelago. It turned out to be the dominant economic power in the region. The affluence of Ho-ling has been displayed in the amazing architecture and the splendid object d'art of Borobudur. In the words of Bo-Kyung Kim, 2007, Chandi Borobudur 'has been looked upon as testimony of the powerful Buddhist Sailendra because of its huge size, unique architectural form, artistic achievements, and, as seen in the many relief carvings, deep understanding of Buddhist textual sources.' (99.p.07)

Fig.4.7 Chandi Borobudur

The monument is the largest Buddhist archaeological site in the world and has been listed as UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1991 A. D. Based on the interpretation of carved letter style on a relief hidden behind the foot of Borobudur Temple, the construction period has been estimated to sometimes between mid-eighth century and mid-ninth century. Historians

presume that Maharaja Samaratunga of Sailendra dynasty, who ruled from 782 to 812 A.D., built this elaborately stone carved Buddhist shrine.

During the eighth and the ninth century many more Buddhist and Hindu temples were built in close proximity to this magnificent monument. More than 200 smaller temples were scattered over the region, from the Dieng plateau and the slopes of Mount Ungaran to the banks of the Progo River and the plain of Yogyakarta. Sailendra period in Ho-ling was a great political and economic power to be reckoned with.

HO-LING'S HINDU-BUDDHIST TRADITION

In Java, Sailendras introduced a new culture of blending the Hindu-Buddhist divinity that embraced the rituals of both the doctrines. Prasasti Kelurak dated 782 A. D. of central Java reports on such an institution.

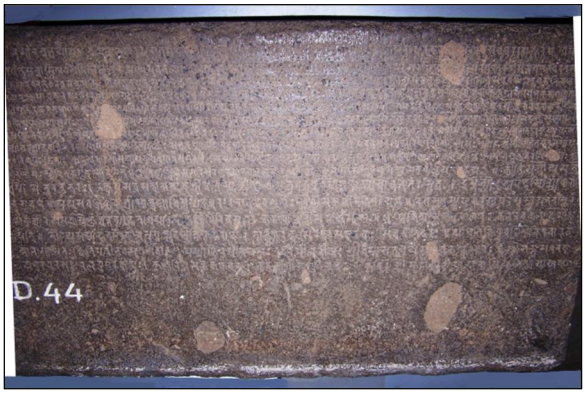


Fig.4.8 Prasasti Kelurak

This inscription was discovered near Lumbung temple in Kelurak village, to the north of Siva temple complex at Prambanan. Presently, the inscription is displayed in National Museum of

Indonesia, Jakarta, under the inventory number D.44. It is illegible in many parts due to the wearing out of the stone.

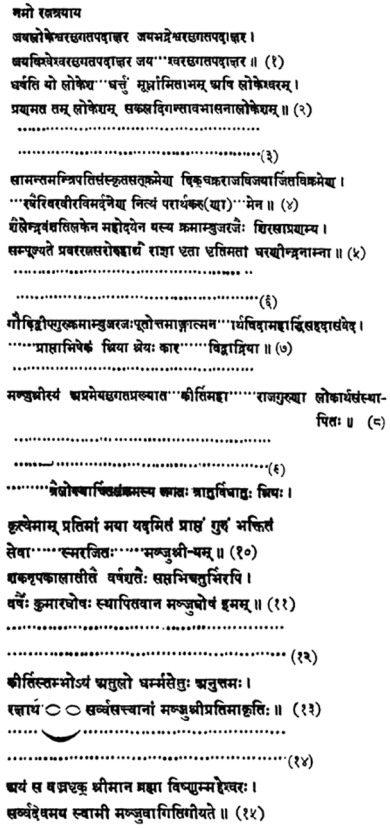
The charter begins with the salutation to three jewels of Buddhism – '*Namo Ratnatrayaya*' – and is followed by twenty verses in different metres. The summary of the content from historical point of view is as under:

The first two verses are devoted to the invocation and salutation of a number of deities with names ending in *Isvara*. Verse three is unintelligible. Then, it says, that the world is supported by the heroic king named Dharanindra, a jewel of Sailendra dynasty (*Sailendra-vamsa-tilaka*), whose policy was well guided by *samantas*, *mantrins*, and *patis*. He crushed many of the great hostile warriors (*vairi vara vira vimardana*) and his valour was established by the conquest of countries in all directions.

In Saka year 704 (782 A.D.), the royal preceptor named Kumaraghosa installed an image of Manjusri and declared the shrine as the 'pillar of glory and unparalleled bridge of religion', (*kirttistambho'yam atulo Dharmmasetuh anuttamah*) established for the welfare of the world and for the protection of all creatures. In this deity the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha (Tri-Ratna) could be seen to be ever present in a hidden form. This Manjusri is also Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara, in fact, all gods in one.

The last few verses read more praise for the deity and appeal the future kings for maintenance of the shrine. The final verse mentions the name Sri Sangramdhananjaya.

Adoration to '*TRIRATNA*' – the Buddha, Dharma, Sangha; and to '*TRINATHA*' the Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesvara – speaks of a distinctive 'Hindu-Buddhist' culture that was brought in to practice by Sailendras in Javanses Kalinga. Mahayana form of Buddhism, impregnated with Saivite Hinduism, made spectacular progress throughout the kingdom.


नमो रत्नत्रयाय
जयलोकेश्वरसुगतपदाक्षर जयभद्रेश्वरसुगतपदाक्षर।
जयविश्वेश्वरसुगतपदाक्षर जय···श्वरसुगतपदाक्षर ॥ (१)
धर्यति यो लोकेश···धर्त्तुं मूर्ध्नामिसाभम् अधि लोकेश्वरम्।
प्रणमत तम् लोकेशम् सकलदिगन्तावभासनालोकेशम् ॥ (२)
(३)
सामन्तमन्त्रिपतिसंस्कृतसत्क्रमेण दिक्चक्रराजविजयाजितविक्रमेण।
···श्वरिवरवीरविमर्दनेन नित्यं परार्थकर(णा)···मेन ॥ (४)
शैलेन्द्रवंशतिलकेन महोदयेन यस्य क्रमाम्बुजरजैः शिरसाप्रणम्य।
सम्पूज्यते प्रवररत्नसरोरुहार्थै राज्ञा एता धृतिमता धरणीन्द्रनाम्ना ॥ (५)
(६)
गौडिद्वीपगुरुक्रमाम्बुजरजःपूतोत्तमाङ्गात्मन···र्थविदामहाद्धिसहदासवेद्।
·····प्राप्ताभिषेकं क्रिया श्रेयः कार·····विद्वाद्विया ॥ (७)
मञ्जुश्रीरयं अप्रमेयसुगतप्रख्यात···कीर्तिमहा·····राजगुरुणा लोकार्थसंस्था-
पितः ॥ (८)
(९)
·····श्रेष्ठोच्चार्चितसंक्रमस्य जगतः त्रातुर्विधातुः क्रियः।
कृत्वेमाम् प्रतिमां मया यदमितं प्राप्तं गुरुं भक्तितं
सेवा·····स्मरजितः·····मञ्जुश्री-यम् ॥ (१०)
शकनृपकालातीते वर्षशतैः सप्तभिश्चतुर्भिरपि।
वर्षैः कुमारघोषः स्थापितवान मञ्जुघोषं इमम् ॥ (११)
(१२)
कीर्तिस्तम्भोऽयं अतुलो धर्म्मसेतुः अनुत्तमः।
रक्षार्थं ○○ सर्व्वसत्त्वानां मञ्जुश्रीप्रतिमाकृतिः ॥ (१३)
(१४)
अयं स वज्रएकु श्रीमान ब्रह्मा विष्णुम्महेश्वरः।
सर्व्वदेवमय स्वामी मञ्जुवागितिगीयते ॥ (१५)

Text of Prasasti Kelurak (42.II.p.61-62)

JAVA-ODISHA CULTURAL CONGRUENCE

Interstingly, during this period an identical Buddhist culture, with strong admixture of Hindu element, was the established ritualistic practice in Odisha – the mainland Kalinga. In the eighth-ninth century, Odisha was ruled by the Bhaumakara dynasty, which professed and patronised Mahayana Buddhism. Before Sailendras occupied Java in about 750 A.D., Sivakaradeva-I, the son of Kshemankaradeva, founded the

Bhaumakara dynasty in Odisha in 736 A.D. This royal family traces their ancestry to the Buddhist king Guhasiva of Kalinga, who worshiped the 'Tooth Relic' of the Buddha and transferred it to Sri Lanka in the fourth century A.D. Bhaumakaras named their kingdom as 'Tosali' – the name that was christened by the Buddhist Emperor Asoka in the third century B.C. in Dhauli rock edict of Bhubaneswar.

Tosali under the Bhaumakaras included Medinipur of West Bengal in the north (Dandabhukti mandala) and extended upto Mahendragiri in the south. It was divided into North Tosali and South Tosali with the River Mahanadi as the dividing line. Guhadeva Pataka or Guhesvara Pataka located to the north of River Vaitarani not far-from Jajpur was their capital. (89.p.109)

Bhaumakaras ruled Odisha for about 200 years. The rulers of the family have declared their allegiance, time and again, to both Buddhism and Saivite Hinduism. Though most of the Bhaumakara kings were ardent devotees of the Buddha their queens used to worship Lord Siva and Vishnu. The legacy of their patronage to Hindu-Buddhist theology is discernible from the copper-plate inscriptions issued by the rulers. As many as twenty-four epigraphic records of the Bhaumakara period have been discovered so far, which include nineteen copper-plates and five stone inscriptions.

The Neulpur grant issued by Sri Subhakaradeva-I (780-800 A.D.), the second in line of the dynasty, on the 23rd day of *Margasirsha*, in Bhauma-*Samvat* 54 (790 A.D.) declares him as a *parama-saugatah* 'entirely devoted to the Buddha'. The charter records his father, king Sri-Sivakaradeva-I (736-780) as *parama-tathagatah* 'a devout worshipper of the Tathagata i.e. Buddha' and his grandfather Sri-Kshemankaradeva, as a *paramopasaka* 'a dedicated lay Buddhist'. However, the king donated two villages,

namely *Parvata droni*-Komaparaka and Dandankiyoka, in favour of two hundred Brahmanas well versed in the four Vedas. (32.XV.p.05) A stone inscription found in Hamsesvara temple of village Sadasivapur near Jaipur town reveals that his queen Madhavadevi built the Madhavesvara Siva Temple and appointed a *Saivacharya* for the worship of the deity. (89.p.111) Sri Subhakaradeva-I is revered by his successors to have constructed many Buddhist monasteries during his reign. It is reported that Rahularuchi or Rahulabhadra, the eminent priest of Nalanda had visited the capital of Subhakardev-I. The incised inscription on the back-slab of Padmapani image found at Khadipada, a place close to Bhaumakara's capital, records the dedication of the image by *mahamandalacarya paramaguru* Rahularuchi during the reign of king Subhakaradeva-I.

King Sivakaradeva-II (800-820 A.D.), the son and successor of Subhakaradeva-I, like his ancestor was described as *Saugataraya* i.e. one who has taken refuge in the Buddha. But his queen Mohinidevi was Saiva by faith and built the Mohini temple of Bhubaneswar. As recorded in Dhauli cave inscription, Santikaradeva-I alias Gayada-I (820-835 A.D.) built a Buddhist monastery named Arghyaka Varati in 829 A.D. (89.p.112-113)

Subsequent kings and queens of this dynasty made grants for Buddhist institutions as well as for Hindu temples. The dedication and commitment to Buddhism by these rulers encouraged growth of large number of monastic institutions in Bhaumakara kingdom. 'These monasteries were the seats of culture and education which taught both religious as well as secular education. In course of time some of the monasteries grew up into famous universities. As torch bearers of the Buddhist culture, these institutions attracted pupils and scholars not only from India but also from many foreign countries.' (16.p.71)

In Java, the tradition continued even after the Sailendras were replaced by the Hindu-Mataram dynasty. Rakai Pikatan, the founder of the grand Hindu temple of Siva, Brahma and Vishnu at Prambanan, also gave patronage to the construction of the Buddhist temple the 'Candi Plaosan Lor'. Plaosan temple, located at about a kilometre to the northwest of Prambanan, was built in mid-ninth century A.D. (825-850 A.D.) by Sri Pramodawardhani, the Buddhist queen of Rakai Pikatan. Queen Pramodawardhani has been named as Sri Kahulunnan or Rakriyan Sanjiwana by other scholars.

Fig.4.9 Candi Plaosan Lor

VAJRAYANA, THE TANTRIC BUDDHISM

Deification of Tara and Manjushri, as reported in Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions, is considered as rituals of Tantric Buddhism. Kalinga (Ho-ling) in Java was a major centre of tantra during the eighth century A.D. The tantric iconography of mediaeval period preserved in Indonesian National Museum, Jakarta would indicate that the cult had widespread acceptance in the region. Some such fierce and wrathful deities can also be seen at other temple sites of Java.

The tradition is otherwise known as Vajrayana Buddhism. Besides Java, the mystic practices of tantra also flourished in India, Tibet, China, Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries with active patronage of the ruling class. According to Prof. P. V. Bapat, 1956, the chief editor of "*2500 years of Buddhism*' published by the Ministry of Information and Boroadcasting, Government of India; 'Tantrism evolved in Odisha in 720 A.D., and introduced to other countries.' (97.p.127)

Scholars opine that Vajrayana emerged from the fusion of Saivite Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism. The rituals of Saivism, Saktism and Buddhism were blended together. The system introduced scores of previously unknown deities of variant forms to be adored in both the faiths. Worship of the Goddesses was promoted by its adherents as a forceful means for extraordinary attainments. The technical expertise necessary to propitiate them in pursuit of *siddhis* such as the mantras, dharanis, mandals and yantras were put into practice in both Hindu and Buddhist tradition. A number of offshoots of Vajrayana such as Kalachakrayana, Mantrayana, and Sahajayana were concocted by Siddhacharyas, or tantric teachers.

Odisha was at the forefront in development of Vajrayana. Plenty of sculptural marvels associated with Vajrayana pantheon have been unearthed at Ratnagiri Maha-vihara of Jajpur district. Dr. (Mrs.) Debala Mitra, who took up the excavation of the Buddhist site at Ratnagiri, on behalf of the Archaeological Survey of India, wrote:

> "Indeed, Ratnagiri of Odisha, the nucleus of Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism, was all but forgotten, either in records or in tradition, in India itself**.** Curiously enough, a faint memory of the establishment lingered in a few late Tibetan works. The information supplied by these Tibetan works is no doubt scrappy, but it affords a glimpse of Ratnagiri as an important religious and philosophical academy where eager student and scholar used to

> repair to study under the intellectual stalwarts of Buddhism. The Tibetan texts also hint at the contribution of the centre towards *Kalachakrayana*, an offshoot of the Vajrayana form of Buddhism. Special esteem appears to have been attached to this seat of learning. (76.p.15)

The importance of this institution, which played a significant role in the dissemination of *Kalachakrayana*, is attested to by the fact that the reputed teachers and scholars of different quarters of India resorted to this establishment for teaching and receiving Buddhist religion and philosophy. From the association of a celebrated savant like Naropa it may be presumed that the general intellectual and cultural level of this seat of learning was high." (76.p.22)

Apart from Ratnagiri, elegantly carved idols pertaining to Vajrayana and Tantrayana pantheon have been discovered at other Buddhist establishments of Odisha, particularly more so in Jajpur district. Some of them have been restored but many are in fragments lying scattered. Few such representative figures are given in Figure 10

These statuary evidences in monasteries of Bhaumakara domain reveal that the rulers of this dynasty immensely contributed to the prosperity of Tnatrayana. They not only extended whole-hearted royal favour to the growth and expansion of this cult but earnestly dedicated themselves to furtherance of the faith and authored new doctrines of international repute. Chinese sources acknowledge Subhakarasimha, a former member of Bhaumakara family, as the founder preceptor of Tantrayana in China at the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Subhakarasimha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra were the celebrated tantric teachers who were best known for their miraculous powers. 'They could subjugate demons, summon dragons, make rain, quell storms, avert calamity, and even raise the dead.

(a) Avalokitesvara, Hariti, Vajrapani in Sri Ratnagiri Mahavihara

(b) Bhrukuti Tara & Lokesvara in Sri Simhaprastha Mahavihara

(c) Jambala & Tara in Sri Solanapura Mahavihara

Fig.4.10

The scholarly accomplishments of these masters were duly recorded by Tsan-ning (919-1001), in a compilation titled '*Sung kao-seng chuan*' – Sung Period Edition of the Biographies of Eminent Monks; that was imperially commissioned in 983 A.D. and finished in 988 A.D.' (156.p.269)

'*Sung kao-seng chuan*' was translated by Chou Yi-Liang, in his essay "*Tantrism in China*," published in the 'Havard Journal of Asiatic Studies', 1945 and republished in '*Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*', edited by Richard K. Payne, 2006. 'Chou Yi-Liang's essay is a foundational work for the study of East Asian tantra and the information it provides about the founders of tantric Buddhism in China has moulded the way the subject has been studied ever since.' (110.p.27)

The name of Subhakarasimha in the Chinese chronicle was Ching-shih tzu, translated as 'Shan-wu-wei'. In Japanese, he is named as Zenmui; in Korean, Seonmuoe; and in Vietnamese, Thien Vo Uy. In the following paragraphs, while discussing the memoir, we would use the Odia name 'Subhakarasimha' and its Chinese rendering 'Shan-wu-wei'.

According to a Chinese record, 'Subhakarasimha (637-735 A.D.) was a native of Central India and a descendant of Amrtodana, Sakyamuni's uncle. Because of unrest in that country, his ancestors had left it and gone to reign over the country of Odra (Odisha). His father's name was Fo-shou wang [King Buddhakara*]. From his birth he appeared like a divinity and was endowed with virtues and accomplishments. His father tested him in a successive variety of positions. At the age of ten he was in command of the army; and at thirteen he succeeded to the throne.' (110.p.39)

As his jealous brothers fought with him for the throne Subhakarasimha decided to become an ascetic. Oneday, taking

permission of his mother, he left the palace and went southward to the sea. Enroute, he came to a superb monastery, possibly Ratnagiri, where he practiced and mastered the *Saddharma-pundarika-samadhi*. He studied yoga, meditation, dharanis, mudras and the secret doctrines of Tantra. Sometime after he boarded a merchant ship and visited many countries. While on board, he saved the merchants from attack of pirates though his magic power.

'Once at Grdhrakuta Mountain, a wild animal guided him into a cave where he saw a vision of Sakyamuni with attendants as if they were bodily present.' (110.p.41)

At the invitation of Emperor Hsuan-tsung (713-755 A.D.), Shubhakarasimha arrived in China in 716 A.D. He was received with great honour and was declared as the Teacher of the country. While in China Subhakarasimha (Shan-wu-wei) demonstrated powerful technology for gaining control over supernatural forces. He translated the *Mahavairochanabhisambodhi* into Chinese in 725 A.D. I-tsing assisted him in translation of several other texts.

'In 732 A.D., 'Shan-wu-wei asked permission to return to India but the Emperor did not grant his request. Three years later, at the age of 99, the great master passed away. The Emperor was shocked and grieved. The title of Director of the Court of State Ceremonial was bestowed on him.' (110.p.46)

Subhakarasimha had a number of disciples from Korea and Japan who propagated the doctrine of Tantric Buddhism in their countries.

The Bhaumakara family of Odisha continued to maintain their relationship with the emperors of Tang dynasty. About eight decades after Subhakarasimha's astounding achievements

in popularising Tantrayana, another member of the family, king Sri-Subhakaradeva-I (780-800 A.D.) sent an autograph manuscript of *Avatamsaka* to the Chinese emperor in 795 A.D. Professor Sylvain Levi, (1863-1935) a French orientalist, reports that 'emperor Te-tsong received, as a token of homage, an autograph manuscript addressed to him by 'the king of the realm Wu-ch'a (Uda= Odisha), who had a deep faith in the Sovereign Law, and who followed the practice of the Sovereign Mahayana. The king's name as translated from Chinese was "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion". The name has been interpreted to Sri Subhakara Simha ('fortunate' being the regular equivalent of Sri; 'who does what is pure' is the transliteration of *Subha* (what is pure) *Kara* (who does); and 'the lion' denotes Simha or Kesari). (32.XV.p.363)

As already discussed, Bhauma kings used the alternative title 'Simha or Kesari' in their charters. 'Considering the year of reference and the chronology of the dynasty, N. K. Sahu et al, 2010, suggest that Sri-Subhakaradeva-I, son of Unmatta Simha or Unmatta Kesari, was the Odishan king who sent the above-mentioned manuscript to the Chinese emperor.' (89.p.112)

The manuscript presented to the Chinese emperor contained the last section of the *Avatamaska*, the section treating the practice and the vow of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. In other words, it was the *Gondavyuha*, of which the original is preserved among the Nepalese collections. Prior to this, the *Avatamaska* had been translated twice into Chinese, first by Buddhabhadra, between 398 and 421 A.D., then by Sikshananda, between 695 and 699 A.D. The new text from Wu-ch'a (Uda= Odisha) and the accompanying letter were entrusted to the monk Prajna for translation.

'Prajna a native of Kapisa, had studied the doctrines of Buddhism in northern India, central India and at Nalanda. He visited the sacred places, and thus passed eighteen years in learning. Afterwards he had settled in 'the monastery of the king of Wu-ch'a (Uda=Odisha), to study Yoga there. He had next moved to China, and made his debut there in 788 A.D. by a translation of the *Shat-paramita-sutra*.' (32.XV.p.364)

Though specific evidence of visit of Subhakarasimha, the founder of the East Asian Tantra, to Java is not forthcoming, the assertion in his biography that he '*went southward to the sea, boarded a merchant ship and visited many countries, made pilgrimages to all the sacred spots*' indicate his contribution to the spread of Vajrayana in the Sailendra domain.

The Sailendras preferred to profess the Tantrayana doctrine that had mysterious rituals to elicit divine blessings, supernatural powers, and/or liberative wisdom. They extended extraordinary patronage to the cult for protecting stability and safety of the realm. Monasteries were built for the venerable monks who were experts in tantric rituals. The internal stability of Sailendra kingdom was based on Saiva-Buddha doctrine. It promoted harmony and internal political stability in a complex multi-religious society.

Both Hinduism and Buddhism accepted the Tantric rituals. There was a revolutionary change in iconographical philosophy to design deities of mysterious wisdom. The antiquities of Sakta-Tantra pantheon found in museums of Java and Odisha speaks of a parallel development in theological and artistic concepts that took place in both the countries.

Ardhanari Ganesh on Skulls Bhairava Buddha Bhrkuti

Fig.4.11 Images of tantric deities of National museum Jakarta

Chamunda (Jajpur) Chunda (Udayagiri)

Indrani (Jajpur) Varahi (Jajpur)

Fig.4.12 Images of tantric deities of Jajpur, old Capital of Odisha

END OF KALINGA HEGEMONY IN JAVA

The political and religious history of Java after first quarter of ninth century A.D. tells a different story. The name Ho-ling disappears from Chinese annals, the last being in 818 A.D. The New Book of Tang reports missions arriving from She-po from 820 A.D. on wards. It would indicate that the name of the island country has been changed from Kalinga to Java. Two epigraphic records – one from India and the other from Java – mention a battle fought between the two rival dynasties resulting defeat of Sailendras. The royal family that had shifted to east returned to power and built the magnificent temple for the Hindu-Trinity at Prambanan to commemorate their victory. The Sailendras shifted to Sumatra as the sovereign of Srivijaya.

The Indian source is the 'Nalanda Copper-plate' inscription that was discovered in 1921 by Hirananda Shastri during archaeological exploration of the Buddhist site. It was issued by *Paramasaugata*, *Paremeswara*, *Paramabhattaraka*, *Maharajadhiraj* Sriman Devapaladeva on the 21st day of *Kartika* in his 39th regnal year, from the victorious palace at Munger in Bihar. Devapala, the third king of Pala dynasty, ruled for about forty years from 810 to 850 A.D*1.

The inscription records that Devapaladeva, at the request of the illustrious Maharaja Balaputradeva, the king of Suvarnadvipa (Sivijaya/Sumatra) through a messenger, caused a monastery to be built at Nalanda. He granted five villages in Patna Division, for the sake of income towards the blessed Lord Buddha, for regular offerings to be made to the deity, to meet various necessities of the revered *bhikshus*, who are well versed in the tantra, for writing the *dharma-ratnas* or Buddhist texts and for the upkeep and repair of the monastery. (32.XVII.p.325)

The charter included a short genealogical account of king Balaputradeva, the overlord of *Suvarnadvipa* which is summed up as follows:

> 'There was a King in Java (*Yavabhumi-pala*), who was the jewel of Sailendra dynasty (*Sailendra-vamsa-tilaka*), and whose name was conformable to the illustrious tormentor of brave foes (*Sri Vira-vairimathan-anugat-abhidhana*). His son was the foremost warrior in battle-fields (*Samaragravira*) and whose fame was equal to that earned by *Yudhisthira, Parasara, Bhimasena, Karnna* and *Arjuna.*
>
> As Paulomi to Indra, Rati to Kamadeva, Saila-suta (Parvati) to Siva and Lakshmi to Vishnu so was Tara the queen consort of the valiant king. She was the daughter of the great ruler Dharmasetu*[2] (Varmasetu) of the lunar race (*Rangyah Soma-kulanvayasya mahatah Sri Dharmasetoh – Varmasetoh-sutaa*) and resembled the Buddhist goddess Tara herself. Illustrious Balaputra was the son of the king from Queen Tara.' (32.XVII.p.326)

The Javanese source that provides the clue on expiration of Sailendra rule in Java is the "Sivagrha inscription" of 856 A.D. It was first introduced in 1887 by J. L. A. Brandes (1857-1905); but Prof. J. G. de Casparis provided a scholarly interpretation of the inscription in his book published in 1952. The charter was issued by Dyah Lokapala (Rakai Kayuwangi) at the end of Rakai Pikatan's reign.

The inscription is composed of two parts. The first part (verse 6-13) is written in praise of the king, "Jatiningrat". It speaks of him as a Great King of excellent devotion who protected the country of Java. He fought a fierce battle and came out victorious. He was a Saivite in contrast to the queen (a Buddhist). The second part (verse 14-29) describes costruction of a grand temple compex dedicated to Siva called *Sivagrha* – the abode of Lord Siva. It also mentions a public water project by changing the course of the river flowing nearby.

King Jatiningrat, identified as Rakai Pikatan, belonged to the Saivitic dynasty of early Mataram group established by heroic Sanjaya. They were pushed to the east when Sailendras occupied the Kalinga in Java. On regaining their military strength and after a yearlong preparation, Pikatan waged a war and overthrew Sailendras from Java. He founded to the temple, the abode of Lord Siva, maybe as a counterpart of Borobudur to celebrate the victory.

Fig.4.13 Prasasti Sivagrha
(Prasasti Sivagrha as displayed in the National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta, under the inventory number D.28)

The grand temple complex referred to in the inscription corresponds to the ninth century Siva temple complex at Prambanan in Central Java, popularly known as Roro Jonggrang (Loro Jonggrang or Rara Jonggrang) temple. The main temples in the compound are dedicated to *Trinatha*, the three supreme Gods of Hindu pantheon, the Siva, Brahma and Vishnu. The tallest and the most important central shrine is the Siva temple with the Brahma temple at its south and Vishnu temple at its north. The respective vahanas (carrier of the Lords), the Nandi (Bull) for Siva, Hamsa (Swan) for Brahma and Garuda for Vishnu have been positioned in smaller temples facing the abodes of their Lords. The temples are adorned with panels of

narrative bas-reliefs telling the story of Hindu epics: the Ramayana and Bhagavata Purana.

The temple compound, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, is the largest Hindu temple site in Indonesia, and one of the biggest in Southeast Asia. It is characterised by its towering height and the typical Hindu architecture. Though the construction of the temple was started by Sri Maharaja Rakai Pikatan, the structure continued through his successors and was completed by Sri Maharaja Rakai Watukura Dyah Balitung (899-911 A.D.)

Prambanan temple

Statue of the Presiding Diety Lord Siva

Fig.4.14

Both the inscriptions discussed do not mention the name of the Sailendra king with whom the war was fought and the year of their flight from Java. The chronological analysis of events can attempt some guesstimate. Balaputra in around 850 A.D. tells (in Nalanda grant of Devapaladeva) that his grandfather was the king of Java (*Yavabhumipala*). The name and the reign of Balaputra's father have not been reported except the epithet "*Samaragravirar* (Verse-27, 32.XVII.p.323). In Chinese annals the name She-po (Java) reappears from 820 A.D. replacing the name of Ho-ling. The thirty-year period in between might be the reign

of Balaputra's father who fought the losing battle and moved to Srivijaya, putting an end to Kalinga hegemony in Java.

ORIGIN OF THE SAILENDRAS

Sailendras belonged to one of the celebrated dynasties of the medieval Southeast Asia. 'Their activities are recorded in so many contexts of Java, Sumatra, Thai-Malay Peninsula, and India.' (78.p.10) The first reference to them appears in the Sojomerto inscription of Java, believed to be of seventh century A.D., and the last in the Smaller Tamil Leiden Grant of the Chola king Kulottunga of late eleventh century A. D. 'Regarding the origin of the Sailendras, scholarly opinion is roughly divided into two groups: one group considers them as the indigenous population. The other argues that the Sailendras immigrated to Java, possibly from India or the other parts of Southeast Asia such as Cambodia or Malaysia, and introduced a new period of Buddhist art and architecture from the late eighth century A. D.' (99.p.05-n5) 'Almost all of the leading scholars in the field (Coedes, Stutterheim, Bosch, and De Casparis) had at one point or another revised their interpretations of the ever scarce and ambiguous inscriptional data, inducing them to switch from one theoretical position to another, sometimes even reverting to an earlier point of view.' (101.p.04) Though a number of papers have been generated since the nineteenth century, the issue has remained inconclusive.

INDONESIAN ORIGIN

Based on interpretation of the Sojomerto inscription, Boechari 1966, had proposed the Javanese origin of Sailedras. This inscription was discovered in the north-western coastal area of Central Java. Though it has not been dated, on palaeographical grounds it is ascribed to the middle of the seventh century A. D.

The inscription written in Sanskrit language reads as under:

... – ryayon Shri sata...
... _ a koti
... namah Shivaya
bhatara parameswara
sarvva daiva ku samvah hiya
– mih inan –isanda dapunta
selendra namah santanu
namanda bapanda bhadravati
namanda ayanda sampula
namanda vininda selendra namah
mamagappasar lempewangih.

Translation:

"Praise to the Lord Siva Bhatara Parameswara and all the gods... from the honorable Dapunta Selendra. Santanu is the name of his father, Bhadrawati is the name of his mother, Sampula is the name of the wife of noble Selendra."

The inscription suggests that a family named 'Selendra' had already settled in Central Java. They were Saivite-Hindus and their written language was Sanskrit. Professor Boechari (1927-1991) speculated that Dapunta Selendra was the progenitor of Sailendra dynasty which later ruled Java and Srivijaya. Scholars such as Stutterheim 1929, Poerbatjaraka 1958, and Wisseman Christie 1995 had lent support to this view.

'The theory of a Sumatran origin of Sailendras was popular in the first half of the twentieth century and was advocated by Krom (1919), Coedes (1918; 1930), and Vogel (1919). It became outdated because there is no data on the Sailendra presence in Sumatra earlier than the ninth century.' (78.p.24)

Coedes 1934 proposed the Funan origin of Sailendras. 'He referred to the resemblance between the Sanskrit titles *śailendra*,

parvatabhūpāla or *śailarāja* which mean "lord of mountains" with the Old Khmer title *kurung bnam* with the same meaning which allegedly was borne by the kings of ancient kingdom of Funan situated in the Lower Mekong River Delta. However, Claude Jacques suggests that this title *kurung bnam* never existed as there is no evidence of its use (Jacques 1979: 375; Vickery 1998: 36).' (78.p.25)

The other source that adds controversy to the origin of Sailendras is the famous Chaiya, or Ligor stele inscription found in the Malay Peninsula, to the south of the Bay of Bandon. The stele, made of sandstone, is inscribed on both sides; conventionally designated as side A and B. Scholars widely differ on the relationship between the inscriptions on the two sides. Earlier it was referred to as the inscription of 'Vieng Sa' by Dr. B. R. Chatterjee, 1933, in his publication '*India and Java'* Part-II, with detailed translation of side A.

The side A consists of ten Sanskrit verses in 29 lines, the last of which gives a *Saka* date of 697th year corresponding to 775 A.D. It begins with eulogy of *Srl-Vijayendraraja*, and then refers to the building of three brick temples for Buddhist gods by *Sri-Vijayesvarabhupati*. Jayanta, the royal priest (*rajasthavira*), being ordered by the king, built three *stupas*. After Jayanta's death, his disciple and successor, Adhimukti built two brick *caityas* by the side of the three *caityas* (built by the king). In conclusion, it is said that *Srl-Vijayanrpati*, who resembled *Devendra*, built the *stupas* here in Saka year 697. (82.p.149)

Side B begins with '*Svosti*' and runs into four lines comprising one verse followed by a few words. The single verse is translated as follows:

> This supreme king of kings the only one, comparable to the Sun capable of dispersing the darkness, namely, the groups of his

> enemies who, by his splendour, resembles the spotless beauty of the autumn moon, who looks like *Manmatha* incarnate, who bears the aspect of Vishnu in his capacity to humble the pride of all enemies and is unrivalled in his powers, is called Sri Maharaja on account of his origin from the Sailendra family. (102.p.44)

The fragment that follows the verse and ends the fourth line reads:

> "*tasya ca sakalara....*" meaning: that is "and of him all."

Dr. R. C. Majumdar supposed that the two sides, A and B, comprise two distinct inscriptions. (Majumdar 1937: 149) He is of the view that for some reason the inscription beginning with '*Svosti*' was never completed and stopped with the engraving of the first four lines. Coedes at first thought it to be one inscription but later accepted Majumdar's thesis (Coedes 1918: 2-3; 1959: 42-8; Coedes & Damais 1992: 103-11). 'He pointed out that the royal titles differ on the two sides: side A calls the ruler "king" (*nṛpa, nṛpati, bhūpati, indrarāja*) and, perhaps, "king of kings" (*iśvarabhūpati*) while side B signifies the Sailendra ruler as "great king" and "king of kings" (*mahārāja*, *rājadhirāja*).' (78.p.06) According to him, the side B was only incompletely inscribed, (*la face inachevee*).

Some scholars, including Chhabra and Bosch, opine that both sides have identical scripts and thus are of one inscription. Bosch suggested that the text should be read from side B (Bosch 1941: 26–38). (78.p.07) Chhabra identified the Sailendra ruler of side B with the king of Srivijaya of side A, who erected the *stupas* and *caityas* and said that he had the personal name of Vishnu and the title of Maharaja. (102.p.44)

M.C. Chand Chirayu Rajani, Chiang Mai University, in his review article '*Background to the Srivijaya story'*, Part II, 1974; goes a step further to justify Sailendra origin from Chaiya. He

advocates that both sides were written at the same time, in the same place, by the same scribe using the same language and style. Any interpretation or argument that does not take this fact into consideration is just a joke that is not even funny. That side A records three brick buildings set up by a king of Srivijaya to commemorate some victory or other. Side B mentions a king named Vishnu who was 'the head of the Sailendravamsa' (Coedes called him '*le chef de la famille Cailendra*'). The two sides together, then, recorded a king of Srivijaya named Vishnu, who was the head of the Sailendra family, setting up three brick buildings at Chaiya in 775 A.D., to celebrate a victory somewhere. (104.p.294) He proposes that the Malay Peninsula is the original seat of Sailendras and the Javanese rulers were a branch of this family. This theory assumes that the Sailendras were ruling in Srivijaya from the eighth century onwards.

R. C. Majumdar disputes such identification. He holds that "side B of the inscription beginning with the word '*Svosti*' shows that it was an entirely new record, not a part of the first. A comparison of the alphabets of the two records certainly indicates that they were contemporary or nearly so, but were not incised by the same hand, at one and the same time. Then, in the long eulogy of the king of Srivijaya in the first inscription (side A), he is nowhere referred to as belonging to the Sailendra dynasty. On the other hand, Srivijaya is not mentioned in the second inscription, which not only refers to a *Rajadhiraja* and *Prabhu* (Lord) of the Sailendra dynasty, but also gives us two of his appellations, Vishnu and Maharaja. It is thus legitimate to hold that the two inscriptions must be regarded as emanating from different persons until we find proof to the contrary, the face B being obviously later in point of time. Thus the only reasonable conclusions that we can draw from the Ligor inscriptions are that the locality was included in the kingdom of

Srivijaya in 775 A. D., and that it acknowledged the suzerainty of a king of the Sailendra dynasty at a subsequent period." (82.p.207)

It is evident from the writings of Arabian geographers Ibn Khurdādhbih (c. 850 A.D.) and Abū Zaid (916 A.D.) and the inscriptions of Java and India, that in the eighth century, Sailendras were the Maharaja of Java. They presumably subdued Srivijaya or took a part of the Thai-Malay Peninsula under their control in around 775 A.D., and engraved an inscription on a stele already bearing a record of the rulers of Srivijaya. This explains the appearance of 'Sailendra' in Chaiya (Ligor stele) inscription of 775 A.D. This is supported by the reports regarding increasing military activities in Indonesian-Malay archipelago in the second half of the eighth century and naval raids by Java for expansion of the Sailendra Empire.

INDIAN ORIGIN

The theory of Indian origin of the Sailendras was offered by a host of historians; their main argument being the spread of foreign influence, and particularly Mahayana Buddhism under the baton of the Sailendras. Though most of them suggest Sailendras as descendants of royal family from Kalinga (ancient Odisha), some, however, try to build up a link with South Indian dynasties.

One of the earliest scholars to discuss the problem was Hirananda Shastri (1923-24:310-27). After suggesting that the ancestors of the Sailendras may have been emigrants from Kalinga, or perhaps other parts of southern India, he put forward the view that they may have had some connection with the rulers of the areas now comprising the South Arcot and Salem districts of southern India, who bore the name

Malaiyaman, whose meaning closely corresponds to that of the term Sailendra. Commenting on this suggestion, Nilakanta Shastri (1949:47) pertinently asserted that the Malaiyamans were minor feudatory rulers of the interior without any maritime tradition. In the same connection, he said that the Pandya rulers of South India perhaps had better claims, as they traced their origin from Siva and used the title 'minarikita Sailendra', meaning 'Lord of Mount Sailendra using the carp as emblem'. (77.p.323) H. B. Sarkar questioned this argument on the consideration that the Pandyas were staunch Saivites, whereas the Sailendra monarchs of Indonesia were fervent Buddhists from the very beginning. The Pandyas no doubt sported a pair of carps on their banners, but he found no evidence for Shastri's view that the Sailendras of Java also had carps as their royal emblem.

Sarkar, 1985, proposed the origin of Sailendras from Andhra region. In his article '*The Kings of Sri Sailam and the foundation of the Sailendra Dynasty of Indonesia*' (KITLV, No: 2/3, Leiden, 323-338) he observed that the significance of the expression '*arya-santatya'* occurring in verse-8 of the Kalasan inscription of 778 A.D. has not been properly analysed. The Sanskrit verse and its translation proposed by Sarkar are reproduced below:

> *bhuradakṣineyam atulā dattā saṅghāya rājasiṅhena |*
> *śailendravamśabhūpair anuparipālyāryasantatyā |8|*
>
> Meaning: The incomparable presents given in profusion to the congregation by the king, who is a lion among monarchs and scion of Arya-land, must be protected by the rulers of the Sailendra dynasty.

He, thus, identified the Sailendras as the "scion of Arya land". Then he refers to other Javanese inscriptions of

Airlangga period where 'Aryya' has been mentioned between 'Kling (Kalinga) and Singhala (Sri Lanka)'. Considering 'Arya land' to the south of Kalinga, he locates it in the Krisna-Guntur districts of Andhra region, where the Iksvakus ruled in the third century A.D. as lords of the hill. He identifies Sailendras as the scion of Iksvaku dynasty who migrated to Sumatra and established a new Sailendra dynasty and a new kingdom called Srivijaya between 300 and 392 A.D. (77.p.326-329)

This view makes Sailendras as Srivijayan monarchs of Sumatra from the beginning, which runs counter to the universally accepted reading of "Nalanda Copper Plate Inscription of Devapala" that Sailendras of Srivijaya came from Java in the ninth century A.D.

Many scholars are of the opinion that the Sailendras, who ruled over central Java and Srivijaya, were a branch of the Sailodbhava dynasty that ruled in parts of coastal Odisha in the seventh century A.D. The eminent historians including S.C. Chandra, H.K. Mahatab and B.S. Das suggest that "the Sailendras of *Suvarnadvipa* are supposed to be the Sailodbhava emigrants of Kongoda" (ancient Kongoda comprised parts of modern Puri, Khordha, Nayagarh and Ganjam districts of Odisha).

R.C. Majumdar, in his monumental work "*Suvarnadvipa"* has put forth his arguments regarding the Kalinga origin of the Sailendras in a more acceptable manner. He writes:

> In conclusion we must lay stress on the fact that there are some reasons to believe that the Sailendras were new arrivals from India. This would explain the introduction of Nagari alphabet in their inscriptions and of a new name, Kalinga, for Malayasia, as we know from the Chinese records. The portion of the western coast of Bay of Bengal, which was known as Kalinga in old days, contained the famous port 'Paloura' which was from very early

> times the port of embarkation for the Far East. The same region was ruled over in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. by the Ganga and Sailodbhava dynasties, and behind them, in the Vindhya region, we find another dynasty called the Sailas. In the preamble of an inscription, this family is said to have descended from Ganga, the daughter of Himalaya (Sailendra), and the first king is referred to as *Sailavamsa-tilaka* (ornament of the Saila family). Thus the Ganga, Sailodbhava, and Saila dynasties may all be the source of a name like Sailendra. (82.p.226)

The inscription cited by Dr. Majumdar is the 'Ragholi Plates of Jayavardhana II', found in the Balaghat district of Madhyapradesh and edited by Hira Lal. (32.IX.p.41-47) This Sanskrit charter of the eighth century A.D. describes Jayavardhana II as a devotee of Mahesvara, the lord of the Vindhyas, *Maharajadhiraj Paramesvara* and the jewel of the Saila dynasty (*Sailavamsa tilakah*). It begins with *'Om Svosti'* and runs with the epithet:

> *Kailas-achala-tunga-sringa-vipula-dronijayesa-prabhuh prakshyato bhuvi Sailavamsa tilakah.*

Hira Lal considers the long epithet to denote two dynasties, *Gangavamsa* and *Sailavamsa*. He translates the 'Kailas-achala-tunga-sringa-vipula-dronijayesa-prabhuh' as "the lord of the family of her (Ganga – the sacred river) who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailasa (Himalaya); implying Ganga dynasty. The rest of the epithet 'prakshyato bhuvi Sailavamsa tilakah' would mean 'the jewel of famous Saila dynasty. Mention of two dynasties makes him to assume Sailavamsa ('Saila' dynasty) to be a branch of Gangavamsa ('Ganga' dynasty). He further adds that "The Sailavamsa is very probably identical with the Sailodbhavas of Odisha, ruling Kongoda mandala in seventh century A.D. This principality was included in the Kalinga country or, roughly speaking, ancient

Odisha. And it is well known that Odisha is the country where the Gangavamsa originated."

The origin of Sailodbhava dynasty of Odisha is also associated with rocks and mountains. The following three copperplate inscriptions acclaim their renowned status:

1. Buguda Plates of Madhabvarman; edited by F. Kielhorn, Ph. D., C.I.E.; Epigraphia Indica Vol. III (1894-95), Pages 41-42
2. Parikud Plates of Madhyamarajadeva; edited by R. D. Banerji, M.A., Indian Museum, Calcutta; Epigraphia Indica Vol. XI (1911-12), Pages 281-287
3. Kondedda Grant of Dharmaraja; edited by Y. R. Gupte, B.A., M.R.A.S., Epigraphia Indica Vol. XIX (1927-28), Pages 265-271

All these charters issued by the seventh century rulers of Kongoda Mandala of Kalinga (ancient Odisha) begins with *'Om Svosti'* and after singing praise for Lord Siva, describe the legendary origin of Sailodbhava dynasty as under:

> In ancient times a noble personality named Pulindasena, who was 'famous amongst the people of Kalinga' (*kshyatah Kalingajanatasu Pulindasena*) prayed for a gifted ruler for his country. He, although endowed with many excellent qualities (a lofty stature, strong arms, a broad chest, etc.), did not covet sovereignty for himself, but rather worshipped (Svayambhuh) Brahma, in order that the God might create a fit ruler of the land. And Brahma (Svayambhuh) granted his wish, and created, apparently out of a rock, the lord Sailodbhava, who became the founder of the distinguished family. (32.III.p.41-42)

Dr N.K.Sahu, *et al.*, 2010, analysing the legendary account suggest that 'Pulindasena may be taken as chieftain of the Pulindas. The Brhat Samhita of Varahamihir associates the

Pulindas with another important tribe called the Sailajas. If prince Sailodbhava of the legend be taken as a historical person, it may be said that he was a member of the *Sailaja* tribe inhabiting the rocky region of Kalinga. Pulindasena, who for himself did not aspire after sovereignty, probably adopted Sailodbhava of *Sailaja* tribe and helped him in carving out a principality which later came to be known as Kongoda.' (89.p.99-100)

These epigraphic sources support the view of Dr. R.C. Majumdar that the dynasties Ganga, Saila, Sailaja, Sailodbhava, Selendra and Sailendra might have some common ancestral origin or some sort of relationship that made them to adopt a dynastic name identified with '*Saila*' the mountain. All the names approximate to an identical meaning. The language of their inscriptions whether found in Java, Malay Peninsula, Central India or Odisha was the Sanskrit. The side B of the Ligor stele inscription found in the Malay Peninsula mentioning Sailendra family; the Ragholi Plates of Saila dynasty found in Central India and the charters of Sailodbhava dynasty of Odisha, all begin with the prayer '*Om Svosti*'. The most rewarding evidence of common tradition is the use of similar epithet '*jewels of dynasty*' in their inscriptions. The Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions celebrate the donor as '*Sailendra-vamsa-tilaka'*, the Ragholi Plates honour the king as '*Saila-vamsa-tilaka*, whereas the Parikud (*verse* 38) and Kondedda grant (*verse* 42) designate the donors as '*Sailodbhava-kula-tilaka'*.

In the sixth and seventh centuries Sailodbhavas were ruling in Kongoda, a kingdom on the south-east portion of Odisha. It was bounded by Mahanadi on the north and Mahendra on the south with a coastline that included the Chilika lake, then a major harbour of maritime importance. *Paloura*, the town

endorsed by the second century Greek geographer Ptolemy as 'the point of departure (*apheterion*)' for ships bound for Southeast Asia (*Khryse*) was located in this kingdom (identified as the present day Palur in Ganjam district of Odisha). The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, *Hiuen Tsiang*, who visited Kongoda (*Kong-u-T'o*) in the seventh century, speaks of the flourishing commerce and resources of this country. He writes:

> Within the limits of this country there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to the sea. The cities themselves are strong and high; the soldiers are brave and daring; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them. This country, bordering on the sea, abounds in many rare and valuable articles. They use cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. The great greenish-blue elephant comes from this country. They harness it to their conveyances and make very long journeys. (79.II.p.207)

The tenth-century text, the Brahmanda Purana, mentions Chilika Lake as an important centre of trade and commerce, and a shelter for ships sailing to Java, Malaya, Sri Lanka, China and other countries. No doubt, the Sailodbhavas had regular contact with the 'Kalinga-colonies' established in different parts of Southeast Asia and a scion of this family might have moved to Java or Malaya Peninsula at the invitation of Kalinga trading communities as military aid. In the course of time they appeared as 'Selendra' the noble family of the Sojomerto inscription and founded the Sailendra Empire.

Apprehensions are expressed by some scholars on the ground that Sailodbhava and Sailendras belong to different religious faiths. The Sailodbhavas of Odisha were pursuing Hinduism, whereas the Sailendras of Java were ardent followers of Buddhism. But the fact remains that the Sailendras in Ligor stele inscription (side B) of Malay Peninsula and of Sojomerto

inscription of Java were Hindus, who might have adopted Buddhism in early eighth century A.D. from the preceptors coming from eastern India. The Hindu Sailodbhavas of Odisha were never antagonistic towards Buddhist faith. History records that 'during 7th century A.D., the period of visit of Hiuen Tsiang, Harsavardhana had come to Kongoda, probably to ensure that the Saivite Sailodbhavas do not become hostile to the followers of Buddhism. To his amazement, he observed that, the Hinayana sect Buddhist monks of Kongoda are not only leading a safe and sound living but possess immense knowledge of spiritual philosophy. The scholarly *shramanas* of Kongoda had requested Harsavardhana to orginise Buddhist convocation for having a theological debate on the principles of both Hinayana and Mahayana'. (68.p.254)

Rather than demonstrating religious fanaticism, the people of Odisha assimilated the doctrines of different faiths. Buddhism, even today, is considered as an associate practice of Hinduism. Buddha is worshiped as an incarnation (*Avatara*) of Lord Vishnu by Odias in their *Dasa Avatara* (Ten incarnations of Lord Vishnu) concept, which is the most popular theme of Odishi dance drama.

Thus, with all the historical probabilities it can be said that Sailendras who played such a prominent role in Southeast Asia were the members and descendants of a royal family of ancient Odisha, who for some unknown reason left their original home and sailed off towards the *Suvaranadvipa*, and with the help of the former Kalingan inhabitants of the islands could establish their sway and gradually spread their empire to all the islands of the Archipelago.

ODISHA – JAVA SCULPTURAL AFFINITY

The monuments of the medieval period of Java and the temples of Odisha demonstrate identical artistic genre suggesting an intimate cultural association between both the nations. Many scholars have critically analysed such resemblances in artifacts of Odisha and Java.

Parvati Durga

Bhairava Mahakala

Fig.4.15 Durga or Parvati & Bharava or Mahakala of Maninagesvara temple of Balasore district

Nagendranath Vasu, 1911, noticed a remarkable similarity between the images of Maninagesvara temple of Balasore district of Odisha and the ancient images of Hindu Gods and Goddesses discovered in Java. He presumed that the artists of ancient Odisha (Kalinga) had gone to Java to make those images. (06.p.107)

Professor Dr. Devaprasad Ghosh, 1933, supposed that "The Buddhist sculptures of Lalitagiri in Odisha seem to have tremendously influenced the Javanese and even the Ceylonese prototypes, as already indicated by a host of Dhyani Buddhas at

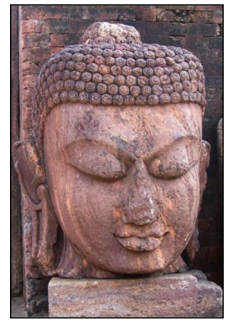
Borobudur and stupendous colossus of Buddha in *Samaddhi mudra* at Anuradhapura, Ceylon." (112.p.41) S.C. Chandra, 1954, the then Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, reports that "The Mahayana Buddhist art of Sailendras of Java has strong affinity with the early medieval Odishan art. The Odishan Buddha figures of Cuttack hills i.e. Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri may have as prototypes for contemporary Javanese Buddha images of Borobudur. (112.p.42)

Nicholas Tarling, 2000, an authority on Southeast Asian history, while strongly advocating the sculptural analogy between Java and Odisha wrote:

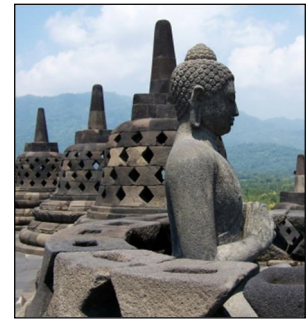
> The splendid images (of Java) can now be studied in different museums. They are carved in a soft style and carry inscriptions in Nagari script of a type current in north-eastern India, in particular Orissa (Odisha), in this period. This may also be the strongest indication of an influx from India of new ideas and practices into Buddhism, although Buddhism in India was in serious decline at that time. This was not; however, the case with the entire subcontinent, for Mahayana continued to flourish in some areas, in particular coastal Odisha (Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri). A possible relationship between this region and east Java has never been adequately studied, but it seems likely. (14.p.321)

The iconography of Hindu-Buddhist sculptures of Odisha and Java presents several common features. The National Museum of Indonesia at Central Jakarta, has preserved the richest collection of artifacts belonging to this period. The Buddha heads and figures of Java share common traits of massive form, sensitive modeling and spiritual expressions with those excavated from Ratnagiri and Udayagiri of Odisha. (61.p.21) The typical curls of hair, divine sublimity combined with the feeling of latent energy are the marked similarities noticed in these figures of Odisha and Java. (112.p.42)

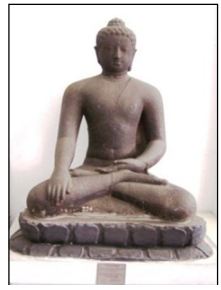
Buddha Head National Museum, Jakarta



Buddha Head, Ratnagiri, Odisha



Buddha Head Borobudur.



Buddha in Bhumisparsa-mudra, National Museum, Jakarta.

Buddha in Bhumisparsa-mudra, Udayagiri, Odisha

Fig.4.16 Buddha Figures of Java & Odisha

Two stone sculptures titled "SURYA", the Sun God of Hindu faith, are displayed in the National Museum, Jakarta as inventory number 203 and 204. The first one, estimated to be of the eighth century A.D., was found in Jawa Tengah/ Central Java and the second one from Kediri, Jawa Timur/ East Java dating back to the thirteenth century A.D. The architectural style of both the sculptures is alike: the Sun God seated in a chariot dragged by seven horses.

Fig.4.17 Surya in National Museum, Jakarta – Inventory numbers 203 & 204

The Sun temple at Konark, the Black pagoda of Odisha, was constructed on identical architectural design, in shape of a gigantic chariot pulled by a set of seven horses. The Sun temples were built across the world, including India, but no comparison of Konark style has been reported so far. The temple at Konark was built in the thirteenth century A.D. However, Madala Panji (chronicle of the Jagannatha temple of Puri) mentions an earlier temple for Surya-deva constructed by one Purandara-kesari, a seventh century ruler of Kesari dynasty, in the Arka-khsetra (Konarka). According to Archaeological Survey of India, the ground evidence at Konark indicates that the main temple is constructed in front of a smaller temple, which might mark the location of the temple constructed by Purandara-kesari. The similarity of thematic architecture of Sun temple in shape of a chariot drawn by 7 horses and that too in identical periods can't be seen as simple coincidence. Rather, it implies the existence of an intimate cultural bond between the Kalingans of India and Java.

Archaeological evidences suggest that hundreds of temples were built around the Siva temple in Prambanan and its surrounding area of Central Java. Most of them are in ruins and some have been restored. A temple complex located 800 meters north of Prambanan also contains large number of temples and has been named 'Chandi Sewu' or Thousand Temples (*Sewu* means "thousands" in Javanese). These temples were built around the end of the tenth century A. D.

Temple building was also a passion in tenth and eleventh century in Bhubaneswar of Odisha, where thousands of temples were built around the main Siva temple of Lord Lingaraja. Many of these have been buried under the new constructions but the records speak of a sizable number existing up to nineteenth century A.D. Walter Hamilton writing on Bhubaneswar in 1815 informs:

> 'The natives say there were originally more than 7,000 places of worship consecrated here to Mahadeva (Siva), and that it contained no less than a crore of lingams. The vestiges of many places of this description are still visible, mostly mere shapeless masses of brick, buried amongst brush-wood and rank vegetation. The buildings are constructed of a reddish granite, resembling sandstone, in the form of towers rounded towards the summit, seldom less than sixty, and one rising to even 180 feet in height. The stones are held together by iron clamps, but no wood is to be seen throughout. The exterior is adorned with a profusion of sculptured ornaments, and the ruined courts scattered over with an infinite variety of bulls, lingams, and other symbols of Mahadeva, mixed with the forms, energies, and attributes of the whole Hindu Pantheon.' (29.I.p.230)

According to W. W. Hunter, 1885, 'Seven thousand shrines once clustered round the sacred lake of Bhubaneswar. Not more than 500 or 600 now remain, and these are nearly all deserted and in ruins.' (41.II.p.417)

Historically, this large scale temple building activity is attributed to political upheavals in both Java and Odisha. By tenth century A.D. Saivite Hinduism had overtaken the Mahayana Buddhism in both the nations, launching a trend for temple building not only by Kings but also by anyone who could afford it. Thus, thousands of temples came up surrounding the main Siva temple in Bhubaneswar and Prambanan, naming the places as the 'City of Thousand Temples'. The popular legends of both Java and Odisha relate such temple building activity to Goddess Durga or Parvati, the consort of Lord Siva.

The image of Goddess Durga in the northern cell of main Siva temple at Prambanan is considered by the people of Java as the statue of Roro Jonggrang (alternative spellings: Rara Jonggrang, Loro Jonggrang or Lara Jonggrang), the famed princess of an ancient kingdom. They also name the Prambanan temple complex as Roro Jonggrang or Rara Jonggrang temple. The legend narrates that the father of Roro Jonggrang, a demonic king attacked a neighbouring kingdom but was killed by the rival prince, who was endowed with supernatural powers. On hearing the death of her father, Princess Roro Jonggrang was heartbroken, but before she could recover from her grief the rival army captured the palace. The victorious Prince, amazed by the beauty of the princess, proposed her, but his offer was swiftly rejected. As insisted upon, Roro Jonggrang put a condition that he must construct a thousand temples in only one night.

The prince entered into meditation and summoned the services of spirits. With their help he completed the construction of 999 temples. While he was at work for the final one, the princess and her maids lighted a fire in the east and began pounding rice, a traditional dawn activity. Fooled into thinking the sun is about to rise, the spirits fled back leaving the

last temple unfinished. The prince was furious when he learnt of this trickery, and placed a curse on Roro Jonggrang which turned her into a stone statue. In this way she herself became a feature of the final temple. The 'Durga Mahishamardini' of the northern cell of the Siva temple at Prambanan is locally considered as Roro Jonggrang, meaning the '*Slender Virgin*' in Javanese.

Fig.4.18 Statue of Durga Mahishamardini in the northern cell of the Siva temple at Prambanan (Roro Jonggrang)

The temple building activity at Bhubaneswar is narrated in the epic named *Ekamra Purana*, a thirteenth century Sanskrit treatise. According to the epic, the original presiding deity Lingaraja, the *Siva Lingam*, was being worshipped under a mango (*Eka Amra*) tree and for that Bhubaneswar is called Ekamra Kshetra or Ekamra Tirtha. Lord Siva once revealed to Parvati the sacredness of Ekamra Kshetra and when she expressed her desire to visit the place, Siva advised her to proceed in advance in disguise.

On reaching the Tirtha, Parvati was moved by its aesthetic beauty and solitude. While moving around, she noticed that cows were coming to a mango tree and milking under it. She perceived the presence of *Svayambhu Lingam* under that mango tree and began worshiping the Lord in the disguise of a cowherd woman (Gopaluni). The news spread far and wide, attracting devotees to Ekamra Kshetra from all parts of the country. The pious devotees, whose wishes were fulfilled, built numerous Siva temples around the Divya lingam, as a mark of gratitude. The place grew to be one of the best-known Tirthas (Holy place) in ancient India. Over the years the surrounding was dotted with thousands of temples.

Parvati, named as *Bhubaneswari*, became the presiding deity of Ekamra Kshetra. Her temple is located close to the northern wall of Lingaraja temple and otherwise called *Gopaluni* temple. Goddess Durga is placed in the northern cell of main temple, by the side of this temple. The statue of Durga of Lingaraja temple has a striking resemblance with Durga Mahishamardini of Prambanan Siva temple.

During the early centuries of the Christian era, people of ancient Odisha and Java played an important role in the maritime history of Southeast Asia. Their mercantile adventure stands imprinted in the archaeological and textual remains that survive till date. The tradition is represented in sculptural reliefs of the great monuments of both the nations. Three wooden oceanic vessels are found in the walls of Chandi Borobudur of Java. The most frequently displayed one is the magnificent wooden ship carved on the bottom part of the north corner on the wall of the 1st corridor. Two other relief panels of smaller ships are on the northeast face and west face of the wall of the 1st corridor.

Reliefs of a magnificent wooden ship on the bottom part of the north corner on the wall of the 1st corridor

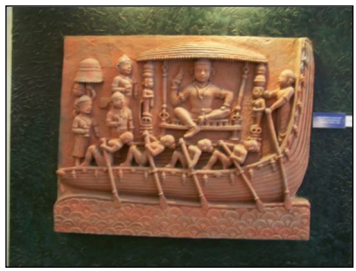
Reliefs of a wooden ship on the northeast face of the wall

Reliefs of a wooden ship on the west face of the wall

Fig.4.19 Oceanic vessels on the walls of Borobudur

In Odisha such relief panels are found on the walls of Lord Jagannatha temple at Puri, Sun temple at Konark and Brahmesvara temple at Bhubaneswar. On the east face of *Bhogamandapa* of the Temple of Lord Jagannatha at Puri, there is a fine, well preserved representation of a royal barge shown in relief on stone. 'The sculpture shows in splendid relief a stately barge propelled by lusty oarsmen with all their might, and one almost hears the very splash of their oars.' (46.p.36)

A sculptural frieze collected from Teligada, Jajpur and now preserved in the Odisha State Museum depicts a boat carrying people and elephant. A four headed Martanda Bhairava is shown dancing in ecstasy on a boat in the Sun temple of Konark. An interesting sculpture supposed to have been collected from Konark and now preserved in the Indian Museum at Kolkata depicts a boat being rowed by four persons. A royal personage sits inside the boat. There is also an elephant on the boat. (61.p.21-22)



Replica of Panel showing pleasure boat, at Bhogamandapa, Jagannatha temple, Puri

Replica of Elephant Transportation Panel, from Teligada, Jajpur, Odisha State

Fig.4.20 Ships on the temple walls of Odisha

(Source: Odisha State Maritime Museum, Cuttack)

DIVERGENT VIEWS

The cultural and sculptural congruence as discussed above has been dragged into contradictions and debate; some suggesting the attainment entirely in favour of the locals while others upholding its transmission from India. Some historians have evoked emotional feelings involving nationalist sentiments. Scholars such as Van Erp (1921), Stutterheim (1925), and Bernet Kempers (1934) suggest that they were immigrants from India, while others propound that the Indonesians themselves disseminated the Hindu and Buddhist culture in Java. According

to the 'Counter-Counter Theory' (Tegenstroom Theory) of F.D.K. Bosch, 1924, "The young Indonesian went to India to study religion and 'made selections' of Indian cultural elements, considered suitable for inclusion in their own cultural pattern and subsequently developed as their own although with Hinduistic traits. This process of Indian-Indonesian cultural diffusion or acculturation went on gradually and took a long time, even a generation or more." (55.p.278-HS) Dr. Soekmono, the former Director of the Indonesian Archaeological Service, is of the opinion that "a cultural contact always involves two parties, whereas the adoption of alien cultural elements depends rather on the receiving party – on whom, moreover, the adaptation and integration of these foreign elements into the native culture wholly depends. The part the Indonesians played in this process was apparently not confined merely to adopting and digesting imported Indian elements, but involved missions to the 'mother country' as well. Being seafarers from prehistoric times, they were known to cross the seas in their distinctive boats that were equipped with outriggers and they may well have ensured continuous contacts between India and Indonesia." (100.p.11)

Van Erp (1921:11-12) and Stutterheim (1925) were of the view that the Sailendra monuments (including Prambanan) must have been constructed in a period in which there were very close contacts between India and Java. Van Erp imagined the situation as under:

> The Indian colonists landed in *Yavadvipa* blessed with a fully mature art of their own. In this new environment they attained unprecedented prosperity. The local population, which had an animistic predisposition, was extremely receptive to the old culture, as it had basically the same religious mentality as the Indian colonists. In this way a new, harmonious unity came about, a society in which Indian art took off from a stage of already full maturity to a new florescence and new potentialities. The mild,

> luxuriant, vividly tropical environment, coupled with the readily available building materials, gave birth to an art form which, it's striking similarity to that in India notwithstanding, displayed certain aspects of its own. There is nothing wrong with labelling this art Javanese, though in that case one should not lose sight of the fact that the Indian spirit continued to be predominant. To the extent that there was any development, this remained wholly within the Indian sphere. (Van Erp 1921:11.) (91.p.237)

Sir Charles Eliot (1921) shares the analogous view. According to him, 'Javanese architecture and sculpture are no doubt derived from India, but the imported style, whatever it may have been, was modified by local influences and it seems impossible at present to determine whether its origin should be sought on the eastern or western side of India.' (35.III.p.170)

However, it will be more appropriate to assume that a culture is never imported; rather the introduced one assimilates the indigenous way of life and blends that to create a more adaptable social system. The indigenous tradition and ethnic values continue to glitter. In fact the continuous maritime contact between Java and the ancient Odisha explains the prevalence of contemporary cultural and sculptural affinity. The merchants who travelled from one country to another, carried with them, not only merchandise, but also their way of life. People of Kalinga established colonies in the Far East and absorbed the culture and traits of the local people. After centuries of interaction both the colonisers as well as the original settlers formed one society, each saturated with the culture and custom of the other.

KALINGA VS. WALAING

Scholars writing on Indonesian history have invariably acknowledged "Ho-ling" as the Chinese version for the ancient toponym 'Kalinga' in Java. This transcription of Ho-ling as

Kalinga was advocated for the first time in 1875 A.D. by W. F. Mayers*3 and was endorsed with varying degrees of assurance by Chavannes, Pelliot, Ferrand, Coedes, H. Kern, Krom, Vogel, and a host of others.' (39.p.87)

Of late, Louis-Charles Damais, a French scholar and researcher at the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), in 1964, on the basis of his analysis of the phonetic value of the Chinese characters, proposed the transliteration of 'Ho-ling' as "Walaing" or "Waleng," instead of Kalinga.*4 Encouraged by Damais's interpretation, some historians advanced a claim that there were no kingdoms in Southeast Asia called "Kalinga" and such assertions are based on erroneous readings of the Chinese name for a locality called Ho-ling which actually stood for Walaing not Kalinga. To avoid the controversy, which is likely to stimulate sentimental issues, some scholars have preferred to replace the "Kalinga period of Java" by a term "Central Javanese period" of ancient Indonesian history. However, the hypothesis advanced by Damais lacks qualification for the fact that "Walaing" was never regarded as a kingdom in Javanese history; it was simply the name of a site. The seventh century phonetics has undergone sea changes. Since Damais has not taken into consideration the authentic history, his argument does not sound convincing. He has not explored the maritime adventures of Kalinga in those centuries which resulted in the establishment of Kalinga colonies in Southeast Asia.

Being spirited by the 'Chinese word game' of Damais, Yutaka Iwamoto (1910–88), a Buddhist scholar, in 1966, said that "the view that there was in Java a Kalinga kingdom dominated by immigrants of Kalinga from the seventh to ninth century was only a mirage or a castle built in the air." (117.p.21) He purported Ho-ling to be the Chinese transliteration of Sailendra not Kalinga. He opines that all that has been written so far by eminent historians on the maritime activity of Kalinga

and their colonies in Southeast Asia are 'based solely on the Ho-ling-Kalinga identification, which becomes completely baseless if the new interpretation of Ho-ling is accepted.'

It's a pity that a Buddhist scholar is ignorant of the maritime adventures of Kalinga, the ancient kingdom on the east coast of India, which is synonymous with Buddhism and its first great royal patron, Asoka. Kalinga's overseas trade has been 'recorded on the rocks' before the advent of Christian era and also in Buddhist chronicles and Jatakas. Colonisation was an indispensable element of successful maritime activities in early centuries for negotiating important trade routes. "Recent researches on the Indian colonisation have revealed that Kalinga had a major share in the overseas expansion and colonisation. The naval power of Kalinga made it possible for her to establish kingdoms in Southeast Asia in the early stages of colonisation and finally a great empire during the middle ages." (116.p.24)

Existence of Kalinga realm in Java is also reported from Buddhist legends. The biographies of eminent monks as narrated by Tsan-ning (*Sung kao-seng chuan*), records that the merchant vessel carrying the Vajrayana preceptor Amoghavajra from Nan-hai of China to Sri Lanka in 741 A.D. met with a heavy storm while reaching the boundary of Kalinga. This Kalinga in the sea route from Nan-hai to Sri Lanka in 741 A.D. was none other than Kalinga (Ho-ling) in Java.

Not only history but the tradition reveals that Kalinga (ancient Odisha) had commercial, cultural and political relation with the Southeast Asian countries such as Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, Thailand, Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and Vietnam (Champa). The Kalinga connection of Southeast Asia has not originated from the transcription of Chinese Ho-ling but from the age-old relation that is discernible from the heritage, legends and rituals of Odisha which are in vogue till date. Every household of Odisha commemorates the maritime adventures of their

ancestors and observe ceremonies, worship deities, sing prayers and sail boats made out of Banana sheath on the full moon day of November each year. The phonetics and phenotypes are subjected to transformation over the ages but the phenomenon that is built-up on the centuries old traditions and rituals would not require any epigraphic evidence.

I would follow thw path of Crawfurd, who, not liable to be biased by any emotional, territorial or even epigraphic prejudice, has faithfully reproduced the 'words of the men in the street' surviving in theie memory from hoary past. The British Resident at the court of the Sultan of Java wrote in 1820 A.D:

> Kalinga is the only country of India known to the Javanese by its proper name, – the only country familiar to them, – and the only one mentioned in their books, with the exception of those current in religious legends. Hence they designate India always by this name, and know it by no other, except, indeed, when, by a vanity for which their ignorance is an apology, they would infer the equality of their island with that great country, and speak of them relatively, as the countries on this or that side of the water. (37.II.p.226)

Certainly John Crawfurd was not influenced by the transcription of Ho-ling of Mayers, published half a century later, in 1875.

More recently, after about two centuries of Crawfurd's publication, Dr. I. G. P. Phalgunadi, a reputed Indonesian scholar has illustrated the impact of Kalingan culture in Java and Bali. Dr. Phalgunadi, 2007, observes:

> I feel that the Kalingans must have been widespread in Java at some ancient time or other, for now when I hear from a distance, two villagers talking in Odia, I feel as if I hear the two talking in Javanese; such is the broad phonetical coincidence, I also find that common. Javanese women have the practice of rounding up hair in a typical bun the same way as the common Odia women do in villages. I also find in Odisha the common Javanese and Balinese habit of youngsters bending down and separating themselves

> notionally by stretching down the right hand towards the earth while passing among elders standing or sitting on the way." (55.p.130-IGPP) "The Cuttack *Bali Jatra* and floating of paper/ banana sheath boats on *Kartika Purnima*, reminds me of a special South Balinese Hindu custom (Masakapam Kepesih ceremony), where every child floats a tiny vessel into the sea along with a lamp and fruit-offerings when he/she is six months old, perhaps this is a custom born out of the belief of sending the child to the ancestors in the original homeland of the Kalinga country in India. (55.p.129-IGPP)

The historic trade link of Kalinga with Java has been recorded in some of the Javanese inscriptions. 'Prasasti Kalirungan of 883 A.D. from Kedu in central Java and Prasasti Cane of 1021 A.D. discovered from the Brantas River delta, list Kalinga, Sri Lanka, Pandyas, Drawidas, Champa, Burma, and Cambodia as the foreign traders having intimate commercial intercourse with Java. (27.p.153)

Fig.4.21 Prasasti Cane
(The cane as displayed in the National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta, under the inventory number D.25)

Even the Nature has built an ecological affinity between Odisha (Kalinga) and Java. Scientists have asserted that both Java and Odisha are the original homeland of '*Oryza sativa*', the rice plant, on the basis of availability of wild relatives of this species in these regions. Remarkable similarity has also been

observed in the cultural practices of wet rice cultivation in both these regions.

The warm and emotional intimacy with Java, Bali and Sumatra, that existed 'once upon a time', continue to survive in the hearts people of Odisha. It is a matter of coincidence that as lata as in twentieth century, an Odia youngman played a crushial role in the struggle for Indonesian independence. Indonesian leaders declared their independence from the Dutch rule on 17th August, 1945. Dutch, to regain its control, launched an mssive attack on Indonesia on 21, July, 1947. President Sukarno advised Prime Minister Sjahrir to leave the country for creating international public opinion against the Dutch. But, by that time Dutch forces had blocked the Indonesian sea and air routes. At this critical juncture, on the request of Indian Primeminister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sri Biju Patnaik, a daredevil pilot of Odisha, braved a secret mission into Java on 22 July 1947 and flew back with Sultan Sjahrir on board to Delhi via Singapore on 24th July, 1947. Later he was elected to become the Chief Minister of Odisha. Sri Patnaik was granted honorary citizenship in Indonesia and awarded the highest Indonesian honour 'Bhoomi Putra'.

Comparative study of historiography of Odisha and Java may open-up more details on the legacy of Kalinga and the cultural interaction between the two old civilisations. The Sanskrit language in the inscriptions of Java and Odisha during seventh to ninth century A.D. promises rich scope for further analysis. The gaps in ancient history encourage scholars to promote novel and at times opportunistic contradictory opinions. Changes in social structure and religious faith, over a long passage of time, are likely to wash away the imprints of old cultures and customs in their original form, but not without leaving the traces. Intensive effort may discover new primary

sources and new approach to the available source material and help to further our knowledge on the relationship between Java and Odisha.

NOTES

* Both the names Subhakara and his father Buddhakara ending with 'kara' indicate them to be the predecessor of Bhaumakaras of Odisha. The copperplate inscriptions issued by the rulers of this family describe themselves as belonging to "Kara" dynasty. The Baud charter issued by Tribhuvana Mahadevi (890-896 A.D.) at line 3 reads – 'Asid Vamse Karanam' (32.XXIX.p.216) and the Santiragrama grant of Dandi Mahadevi (916-923 A.D.) at line 19 states-'Avichchhinn ayati pramsau vamse Kara' (32.XXIX.p.88); speak of their lineage from Kara family. Besides, the early members of the family used the title 'simha', viz. Unmatta-simha alias Sivakaradeva-I (c. 736-780 A.D.). He was a devout Buddhist and described as the founder of Bhaumakara rule in Odisha. The coronation name "Subhakara" has been repeatedly assumed by kings of this dynasty (Subhakaradeva-I to V) during their reign in Odisha.

*1 Based on interpretation of various epigraphic records, historians differ in estimating the reign of Devapala of Pala dynasty. RC Majumdar 1971, assess the period from 810 to 850 A.D.; AM Chowdhury 1967, puts it from 821 to 861 A.D.; BP Sinha 1977, fixes at 820-860 A.D., and DC Sircar 1975 suggest the years from 812 to 850 A.D.

*2 Some scholars including Dr. R. C. Majumdar, 1937 read it as 'Varmasetu instead of 'Dharmasetu'

*3 W. F. Mayers, 'Chinese Explorations of the Indian Ocean during the Fifteenth Century,' *The China Review,* IV, 3 [1875], pp. 173-90)

*4 L. Ch. Damais, "Etudes sino-indonesiennes III: La transcription chinoise Ho-Ling comme designation de Java," *Bulletin de l'* École Française d'Extrême-Orient *(BEFEO},* LII (1964), p. 119

5

The Lion of Sinhala

In Odisha, the island country of Sri Lanka is commonly called as '*Sinhala*', not '*Simhala*' as it is in Sanskrit. We also refer to it as 'Lanka', the name found in Indian epics. In antiquity, Sri Lanka was known by a variety of names. According to the Buddhist chronicle 'Mahavamsa', the legendary first king Vijaya named the region as *Tambapanni*. Ancient Greek geographers called it *Taprobane*. The Persians and Arabs referred to it as *Sarandib*. The Portuguese arrived in Sri Lanka in 1505 and named the country as '*Ceilao*' which was transliterated into 'Ceylon' by British. The nation achieved independence as the "Dominion of Ceylon" in 1948. The name of the country was changed to "Free, Sovereign and Independent Republic of Sri Lanka" in 1972 and later to the "Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka" in 1978. With seventy five percent of its population being Sinhalese, the name 'Sinhala' continues to be identity of its people, their language, historical heritage and culture.

The Prakrit word 'Sinhala' is derived from "Sinha" or 'Simha' in Sanskrit, literally meaning the "LION". This majestic animal was never reported in the wilds of Sri Lanka, but we find their images in almost all the monuments and memorials of the past and the present. The lion figure is held in high esteem both by the people and the state. The national flag and the national emblem of the country feature a gold lion holding a sword in its right forepaw.

Fig.5.1 National Emblem of Sri Lanka

Sri Lankan flag, popularly known as the "Lion Flag" is considered as the oldest flag in the world. H. M. Mervyn Herath, 1999, in his book *The National Flag and the National Anthem of Sri Lanka* describes that Vijaya a prince coming from Sinhapura landed in the island and planted the Flag with a lion symbol, kissed the sand and called it '*Thambapani*'. Thus began the history of Sri Lanka, the birth of the Sinhala race. (146.p.01) Herath points out that 'the flag with the lion symbol was invariably used by the monarchy from the time of King Vijaya to the fall of the Sinhala Kingdom during the reign of King Sri Vikrama Rajasinha in 1815'. This has been recorded in both the Mahavamsa and the Chulavamsa. 'No other country in the world possesses a national flag laud with history and tradition as the Lion Flag of Sri Lanka'. (146.p.04)

Fig.5.2 Lion Flag of Sri Lanka

Name	Lion flag or Sinha flag
Use	Civil and state flag, civil ensign
Proportion	1:2
Adopted	22 May 1972
Design	Dark red rectangular panel bordered yellow containing a yellow lion holding a sword upright in its right forepaw, and four bo leaves, one in each corner, and next to the hoist two vertical stripes, green and orange, also bordered yellow together.

On the cession of the kingdom to the British, the lion flag was replaced by the Union Jack. The flag of the last King was captured by William Pollock and transferred by the East India Company with the consent of King William IV, to the Royal Military Hospital Chelsea, London in 1835. This was discovered by Mr. E.W. Perera, in 1915, copied in colour by Southwood & Co., and brought to Lanka. After independence, the Lion Flag was hoisted on the 4th February, 1948 at the Independence Square. Since its arrival in Sri Lanka, the Lion flag has played a significant role in the political history of the country. (146.p.13)

STORY OF VIJAYA

The establishment of the Sinhala race and introduction of lion flag by Vijaya from Sinhapura has been narrated by the author of *Mahavamsa* in a different version of the ancient fairy tale 'The Beauty and the Beast' story. According to *Mahavamsa*, the princess of Kalinga (present-day Odisha) married the king of Vanga (present-day Bengal) and they had a lovely daughter for whom the soothsayers prophesied union with the king of beasts. As an adult, the daughter went forth from the house, desiring the joy of independent life. She joined a caravan travelling to the Magadha country (present-day Bihar). On the way, in the Lala country, a lion attacked the caravan in the forest; the folk fled in various directions, but she fled along the way by which the lion

had come. Seeing her from a distance, the lion was attracted towards her and came with waving tail and ears. Remembering the prophecy of the soothsayers she caressed him without fear. The lion, roused to fiercest passion by her touch, took her upon his back and fled to his cave. From their union were born two children; a son and a daughter. The son's hands and feet were formed like a lion's and therefore named Sinhabahu, the daughter was named Sihasivali. (148.p.51)

When Sinhabahu grew up, he escaped with his mother and sister and reached a border-village, where they met a son of the princess's uncle, an army commander of the Vanga king. On hearing from the princess regarding her family and clan, the commander took his uncle's daughter with him and went to the capital of the Vanga and married her. (148.p.52) The king of Vanga died soon without an heir. Sinhabhau was declared the new king by the ministers, but he later handed over the kingship to his mother's husband, the commander. He went back to his birthplace in the kingdom of Lala, and founded the city of Sinhapura.

As time passed, Sinhabahu had 32 sons of which Vijaya was the eldest. The conduct of Vijaya and his friends was unbearably painful for the local people. Vexed with repeated protest by the anguished people, Sinhabahu decided to banish Vijaya and his followers. They along with their wives and children were put on ships and sent forth upon the sea. The men, women, and children sent forth separately landed separately, each upon an island, and they dwelt even there. The prince named Vijaya, the valiant, landed in Lanka, in the region called Tambapanni on the day that the Tathagata lay down between the twins like Sala-trees to pass into nibbana. (148.p.53-54)

Vijaya coming from the city of Sinhapura, established the 'Sinhala race' (the 'Sinhala Jathiya'), the Lion Flag and ruled all over Lanka for thirty-eight years.

VIJAYA'S HOMELAND

Mahavamsa records Vijaya's native place at Sinhapura, the city established by his father Sinhabahu, in the Lala country. The geographical description of the Pali chronicle would place Lala country somewhere between Vanga, Kalinga and Magadha; the present day Bengal, Odisha and Bihar. But the historical sources in India do not report a kingdom named Lala in the region of Vanga, Kalinga and Magadha. Scholars in turn have variously interpreted the location of Lala, and thereby, Sinhapura in different parts of India.

Some authors equate the country named 'Lala' with 'Rarh' or 'Radha' a region that was known to exist south of ancient kingdom Gauda, now the Bengal proper, and accordingly indentify Sinhapura with present-day Singur in West Bengal. This presumption contradicts the statement of Mahavamsa that Sinhabahu came out of Vanga country and carved out a new territory in the forests that he named Lala. Thus Lala cannot be a part of Bengal.

Others suggest Vijaya's native place is in Gujarat. They consider Lala as 'Lata', a historical region to the east of Gulf of Khambhat that included modern Surat, Bharuch, Vadodara and Kheda. At the same time, they identify Sinhapura with Sihor, a town in Bhavnagar district that is to the west of Gulf of Khambhat. In any case, Bharuch and Bhavnagar are quite far from the region of Vanga, Kalinga and Magadha.

Historians also propose a fifth century city named Simhapura, the capital of Kalinga under Mathara dynasty as the

native of Vijaya. About the middle of the fourth century A.D., Vishakhavarman of the Mathara family succeeded in organising a small principality, comprising a portion of southern Odisha and northern Andhra Pradesh and named it Kalinga with capital at Sripura. The territory expanded both in north and south direction and by the beginning of the fifth century A. D. Maharaja Saktivarman claimed to have extended the domain from river Mahanadi to river Krishna. The capital of the kingdom shifted to a number of locations during the reign of different rulers – beginning with Sripura to Sunagara, Vardhamanpur, Simhapura and Pistapura. The dynasty declined from mid-fifth century, eventually losing their kingdom to the Gangas in 498 A.D. Subsequently this royal family waned to the oblivion. Simhapura, one-time capital of Matharas has been identified as the modern Singupuram village near Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh and is presumed by some writers as Sinhapura. But Singupuram is far south from the boarder of Bengal (Vanga Country) and thus cannot represent Sinhapura of Lala country of Mahavamsa.

Singhbhum region of Jharkhand is another option floated by certain scholars. According to them, the mythical lion of Mahavamsa first appeared while the caravan was on its way to Magadha (Bihar) and thus the Lala country (and therefore Sinhapura) has to be located on the road connecting Vanga with Magadha. This assumption brings in Singhbhum into picture, which literary translates as the "land of the lions". They reinforce their logic with the fact that Singhbhum earlier formed a part of Odisha and may stand for Sinhapura of Kalinga. Disagreement to this theory comes from the fact that Vijaya, his 700 companions and their family sailed from Sinhapura to Sri Lanka in a number of ships. Sinhapura was undoubtedly a coastal city with large and experienced seafarer population, while Singhbhum is quite interior inland.

All these assumptions and presumptions of locating Sinhapura in Gujarat, Andhra, Bengal and Jharkhand are negated by the authentic epigraphic sources discovered in Sri Lanka. A number of inscriptions of medieval kings of Lanka endorse the presence of Sinhapura in Kalinga from where came the legendary king Vijaya. The Slab-Inscription of Vijayabahu-II, published in Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, goes on to state that 'His Majesty king Sinhabahu was born of the Kalinga Cakravarti family of the illustrious and very proud Sinha race. His eldest son, king Vijaya, came to Lanka from the Kalinga country, destroyed the Yaksas, and making [the Island] habitable for men ruled it under one canopy of dominion.' 'From his lineage was descended His Majesty Parakramabahu, the Lord of the soil, who also brought the Island of Lanka under single sovereignty. Desiring the continuance of his dynasty in the future, Parakramabahu sent emissaries to Sinhapura as previous kings had done, and had his *bana* (sister's son) brought over [to Sri Lanka]. He had the prince invested with royal rank and brought him up, making him skilful in the science of arms.' (147.II.p.183-184) This prince, as king Vijayabahu II, succeeded Parakramabahu and ruled for a short period.

The writing of King Nissanka Malla, the great builder of medieval Sri Lanka, is more assertive on this score. He has the credit of issuing maximum number of inscriptions in the country. So far thirty-nine lithic inscriptions belonging to his period have been discovered. In many of these records, he reminded the people of the legend of Vijayan colonisation of Sri Lanka as narrated in Mahavamsa. Declaring himself as the lineal descendant of Vijaya, he impressed upon them that the throne of Sri Lanka belonged to his dynasty.

Of all his lithic records, Gal-Pota, meaning the 'Stone-Book' is the largest that provide more detailed account of the

King. Presently, it is preserved in the Sacred Quadrangle at Polonnaruva by the side of eastern wall of Hetadage (old 'Tooth Relic shrine') and a few yards south-west of the Sathmahal Prasada.

Fig.5.3 Gal-Pota Inscription (Stone Book)

The weight of the 'Stone-Book' is approximately 15 tons and the dimensions are 26 ft. 8 in. X 4 ft. 7 in. X 1 ft. 9 in. in average. The upper surface is divided into three partitions containing about 4,300 letters in seventy-two lines. The king has outlined his genealogy, some of his policies and the duties and responsibilities of the subjects in this inscription. Part A, lines 2-7 describe his origin and parentage as under:

> King Vijaya, descended from the family of Kalinga Cakravartin, and belonged to the royal line of the Okkaka dynasty. When one thousand seven hundred years had elapsed since this king, protected by the gods in accordance with the behest of the Buddha, arrived in the Island of Lanka, and destroying the *yaksas* made it an abode for mankind, there was born the great king Siri-Sangabo Kalinga Parakrama-Bahu Viraraja Nissanka-Malla Aprati-Malla in Sinhapura in the country of Kalinga in noble Dambadiva [*Jambudvipa*-India], the birth-place of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Universal monarchs. He was born of the womb of the great queen Parvati Mahadevi unto King Sri Jayagopa, the jewel of the royal line. He grew up in the midst of royal splendour, and being invited by the great king of the Island of Lanka, his senior kinsman, to

> rule over the Island of Lanka which is his by right of lineal succession of kings, he landed in Lanka in great state.'(147.II.p.115)

Dr. Fleet, 1909, considering the statement that Nissanka was born 'when 1700 years had elapsed since the arrival of Vijaya in Sri Lanka' estimates his year of birth at 1157 A.D. According to Mahavamsa, Vijaya landed in Sri Lanka on day of Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha, which Dr. Fleet reckons as 544 B. C. (147.II.p.103)

The king Sri Jaya Gopa and his dynasty as mentioned in the Stone-Book have not yet been traced in the historical sources of Odisha as well as of India. Some scholars suggest he belonged to the family of Gangas. But that Nissanka Malla's wife Kalyanavati belonged to Ganga family (Gangavamsa Kalyan), such an assumption would be erroneous. The only equation we get to trace the dynasty is from the "emblem" engraved on Gal-Pota; the replica of which has been noticed on the copperplate grants of some Odisha kings. The end surface of the inscription contains the motif of 'the seated figure of Goddess Laksmi holding flowers, upon which a pair of elephants, one on either side, seems to be pouring water'. (147.II.p.99)

Fig.5.4 GajaLaxmi in Gal-Pota slab inscription of Nissanka Malla

Exactly similar emblems have been used in the Kataka Copperplate grants and Vakratentali charter of Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya-I, the 9th century Somavamsi king of Odisha. As reported in Epigraphia Indica, Vol.III and XI, these inscriptions have the seal of 'Goddess Laksmi, seated on a throne or squatting on a lotus, with, on each side of her, an elephant, with its trunk lifted up over her head'. (32.III.p.345) & (32.XI.p.93)

However, the Ganga dynasty used entirely a different seal in their charters. The Nagari plates of Anangabhima III, published in Epigraphia Indica, Vol.XXVIII mentions the seal having a seated bull, caparisoned and bedecked with ornaments, facing front and having raised neck and head. To the proper left of the bull are found the emblems of a conch, the crescent moon, a dagger pointed downwards and a *damaru*. To the right of the bull are similarly found a *trisula* and an *ankusa* or a *chamara*.' (32.XXVIII.p.236) Nissanka Malla using identical motif of Somavamsi kings indicates possibility of genealogical link with that family.

Somavamsis ruled major parts of modern Odisha for about 300 years, beginning with early ninth century up to twelfth century. They claimed themselves as the lord of "three Kalingas". 'Many temples of Bhubaneswar including the gigantic Lingaraja and the artistic Rajarani, the shrines of Ranipur-Jharial and a number of monuments in different parts of Odisha and Chhattisgarh are credited to them'. (89.p.157) They were mostly Saivite but had matrimonial relation with Buddhist Bhaumakaras of Tosali, otherwise known as Utkala. With the fall of Bhaumakaras towards third quarter of tenth century A.D., Somavamsis annexed the Utkala country.

Madala Panji, the chronicle of Jagannatha temple, Puri, designates the kings of this dynasty with the 'KESARI' (LION)

title, which, of course, became associated with the later Somavamsi rulers following Mahabhavagupta Udyotakesari (C.1040-1065 A.D.). Interestingly, the son of Udyotakesari, the Governor of Kosala in his Sonepur charter named his province as "*Paschima Lanka*" with its capital at Subarnapur. (89.p.170) Such striking semblance hints at intimate relationship of this family with Sri Lanka.

Towards the end of eleventh century A.D. the expanding imperial Gangas occupied most of the Somavamsi domain leaving only Utkala for the Kesari kings to be contented with. According to Debala Mitra, 'the capital of Utkala during this period was modern Jajpur'. (32.XXXIII.p.265) It seems that after shifting to Utkala, the royal family came under the influenced of Buddhism. A set of copperplate charter found in Ratnagiri Mahavihar reports that Karnadeva (C.1090-1118 A.D.), the last king of this dynasty subscribed for the cause. The King donated a village in favour of Rani Karpurasri, who hailed from Solanapura Mahavihara of Utkala Desa. (89.p.172) Presumably, Karpurasri settled in Ratnagiri either as a lay-devotee or a nun, and the village was granted to meet her personal expenses and to provide her to make contributions to the Buddhist establishment of Ratnagiri. (76.p.23)

During the reign of Karnadeva, Utkala was invaded more than once by the Ganga king Chodagangadeva, who by about 1112 A.D. defeated Karnadeva but reinstated him as a feudatory. This arrangement did not last long. Utkala was finally annexed to the Ganga empire sometime before 1118 A.D. (89.p.173) On losing their sovereignty, Karnadeva's progeny might have settled in the capital city Jajpur of Utkala country and might have professed Buddhism. The scions of this family probably migrated to Sri Lanka to try their luck. Resemblance in royal insignia, adoption of Kesari (lion) title and promoting

Buddhism are some of the observable facts in favour of this view.

Nissanka Malla was a great champion of Buddhist faith. As a king he constructed magnificent Stupas, Relic temples, Image house and generously donated for monastic establishments. His inscription in the Dambulla cave temple, placed to the right immediately at the entrance of the courtyard, gives an account of his pious deeds for refurbishment of Buddhism. The lines 20-25 record that he reconciled the monks of three Nikayas that had been separated for a long time; honoured the doctrines of the Buddha as contained in the Tripitaka and promoted the faith. He repaired and restored the ruined Viharas and Dagabas, built many Viharas in Anuradhapura, Devi-nuvara, Kalani, Miyuguna, etc., and made donations of vast riches. He caused the statues of the Dambulla cave to be coated with gold lining, celebrated a great *puja* at a cost of seven lacs of money, and named the temple as '*Suvarna-Giri-Guha*', the golden rock-cave. (147.I.p.134-135)

Fig.5.5 Dambulla Rock Inscription of Kirti Nissanka Malla

Proclaiming himself as devout custodian of Buddhism, he condemned vehemently the aspirations of persons of other faith to rule that country. In his Slab-Inscription placed at the

North-Gate of the ruined Citadel at Polonnaruva, the King appeals the people:

"Over the Island of Ceylon, which belongs to the religion of the Buddha, non-Buddhist princes from other countries should not be chosen. Those who join them and cause disturbances shall be called traitors." (147.II.p.164)

Fig.5.6 Slab-Inscription at the North-Gate of the Citadel, Polonnaruva

That he was born in a family professing Buddhism in twelfth century A.D. would lead us to look for the location of Sinhapura in Kalinga. In fact, Buddhism had disappeared from most parts of India by twelfth century, except, of course, from Odisha. In south India, the faith was at the peak of development at Nagarjunakonda and Kanchipuram during the early years of the Christian era. But after seventh century, the Hindu revivalism forced it to recede to few pockets of Odisha. According to W. W. Hunter, 1886, 'In the 11th century, it was chiefly outlying States, like Kashmir and Odisha that remained faithful. When the Muhammadans come permanently upon the

scene, Buddhism as a popular faith has almost disappeared from the interior provinces of India.' (45.p.157)

Dr. Kern, one of the best authorities on the history of Buddhism had observed 'that after the Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila were destroyed, and the wave of Muhammadan conquest had swept past Magadha and Gauda, the surviving ministers of Buddhism migrated to Utkala and there built new monasteries. And these citadels, in the wildernesses of Odisha, not only acted as a bar to arrest the tide of extinction, but largely helped the growth and gradual expansion of the religion.' (106.p.13) Odisha, with comparative immunity from Muslim inroads, became a refuge of the fleeing monks from northern and eastern India. (40.p.17)

The archaeological investigation of Ratnagiri Mahavihara, Jajpur district in Odisha has confirmed that Buddhism was not much affected by the political changes in Odisha. The faith continued to receive support from Saivite Somavamsis, Vaishnavite Gangas and Gajapati rulers till sixteenth century A.D. (76.p.23)

It is the Utkala region of Odisha that nourished Buddhism and sustained major Buddhist complexes in twelfth century and beyond. Nissanka Malla and other descendants of Kalinga Cakravarti family professing Buddhist faith belonged to this region. The "Lala" country mentioned in Mahavamsa is probably a corruption of "Utkala". Early Vinaya texts mention the name of Utkala as 'Ukkala'. This kingdom has the privilege of building the first *caitya* for the 'Hair Relic' during the lifetime of Gautama Buddha. No such commentary associating Lala, Lata or Radha is available in early Buddhist literature. Geographically, the location of Utkala adequately compares with the description of Mahavamsa. Throughout history, it was

located between Vanga, Kalinga and Magadha. Vijaya, who arrived in Sri Lanka on the day of *Mahaparinirvana*, was born during the lifetime of the Buddha; and it is Utkala where the faith had become established during that period. Sinhapura, the homeland of Vijaya, is most likely somewhere around Jajpur, the then capital of Utkala.

THE LION OF MAHAVAMSA

Mahavamsa, authored by Mahanama, is primarily a compilation of annals maintained by the Mahavihara *bhikkhus*. It covers the early history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, beginning with the time of Gautama Buddha. Every chapter of Mahavamsa ends with the statement that '*it is compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious'*, characterising the chronicle as a religious literature. Wilhelm Geiger, 1912, the translator of Mahavamsa, observed that 'These Chronicles contain no pure history. But they represent the traditions of their time and permit us to draw retrospective conclusions as to earlier periods.' (148.p.xiii) Dr. Edward Muller, 1883, who collected, studied and published the '*Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*', remarked that "The early history of Ceylon, as given in the old chronicles Mahavamsa, Dipavamsa, Rajavaliya, etc., cannot be considered as history in that sense of the word in which it is now generally used. Mahanama and the author of the Dipavamsa, although being natives of Ceylon, did not intend to write a history of their country, but a history of Buddhism." (149.p.21)

Like other Buddhist texts, Mahavamsa has made use of a lot many mythical fantasies to sanctify the events with strong religious fervor. 'It describes Mahinda's (Asoka's son Mahendra) arrival in Sri Lanka in marvelous fashion, flying through the air; miraculous phenomena accompany the 'Establishment of the Doctrine', the arrival of the relics, the planting of the Bodhi-

tree, and so forth.' (148.p.xiv) Though intended to provide a feel of spiritual splendour, such enchanting stories always carry a deeper meaning. The legend of Vijaya, likewise, has been accredited with the divine sanction to influence popular sentiment. Besides being the founding father of Sinhala race and Lankan monarchy, Vijaya concurrently has been portrayed as the messiah to establish Buddhism in Sri Lanka. The Mahavamsa writes:

> When the Guide of the World, having accomplished the salvation of the whole world and having reached the utmost stage of blissful rest, was lying on the bed of his nibbana, in the midst of the great assembly of gods, he, the great sage, the greatest of those who have speech, spoke to Sakka (Indra, the lord of Gods) who stood there near him: 'Vijaya, son of king Sihabahu, has come to Lanka from the country of Lala, together with seven hundred followers. In Lanka, O lord of gods, will my religion be established, therefore carefully protect him with his followers and Lanka'. (148.p.55)

Indra, with due honour to the wishes of the Buddha, handed over the guardianship of Lanka to the lotus-colored God (Upulvan), who came to Lanka in the guise of an ascetic to protect Vijaya.

It's obvious that this story intends to integrate the monarchy, race, religion and nationalism with strong emotional ties. The Sinhalese consider themselves as the guardians of the original doctrine preached by Gautama Buddha and continues to preserve Theravada branch of Buddhism. This branch, being the oldest and more conservative, is resistant towards anthropomorphic representations of the Enlightened One. Emphasizing on the uniqueness of the Buddha's teachings, they prefer to represent the Lord through symbols such as the wheel of Dhamma, the Bodhi tree, an empty seat, the lion and elephant. Of these, the imagery of lion is most frequently used.

Traditionally, lion is associated with regality, strength, power and pride. The Buddha's teachings are therefore referred to as the 'Lion's Roar', indicating their strength and power. It also stands for the fearless proclamation of the doctrines of the Buddha which cannot be confuted. *Sinhanada-sutta* (lion's roar discourse) is one of the important treatises in the scripture of Theravada Buddhism. Though the lion imagery is closely related to the Buddha, lion's roar can also be made by a disciple.

Emperor Asoka, who spearheaded the spread of Buddhism in different parts of the world, had valued the lion as symbol of the Buddha. The pillar erected by him at Sarnath (near Varanasi) had the capital with four superbly carved lions placed back to back. Here 'at the Deer Park, Gautama Buddha preached his first sermon and gathered his first five disciples. This sermon, the 'Turning of the Wheel of Law' as it was called, incorporated the Four Noble Truths – suffering, the cause of suffering, cessation of the cause, and the path leading to cessation – which formed the nucleus of Buddhist teaching.' (144.p.10) The four lions on the pillar capital stand for these 'Noble Truths' and echo HIS teachings in all directions.

Fig.5.7 Asoka's Lion Capital

Buddhist monasticism in Sri Lanka has profound regards and strong emotional attachment for the lion image and the Lion Flag. Their endeavor to preserve the tradition is exemplified in the act of outstanding bravery demonstrated by Ven Wariyapola Sumangala, a Buddhist monk. Herath, 1999, describes the laudable event as under:

> "On 2nd of March, 1815, Lanka's Lion Flag was hauled down by the British Raj and Sri Lanka was ceded to the British under a treaty called the Kandyan Convention. This ended Sinhala Independence after over 2358 years.

The Kandyan Convention was proclaimed at 3.30 p.m. on 2nd March, 1815 in the Audience Hall, then called the Magul Maduva of the Palace of Kandy. This was signed by Governor Robert Brownrigg on behalf of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the one hand and the Adigars, Disavas and other principal chiefs of the Kandyan Province, on the other. (146.p.06)

Outside, drums were beating all around the Hall. British troops guarded all the entrances to it and also patrolled the streets.

Next the treaty was read aloud to the chiefs in Sinhala and both parties agreed to its contents. Then the Lion Flag was hauled down and the Union Jack (the British Flag) placed in its place, amidst salvoes of artillery and His Majesty King George III was acclaimed King of Ceylon.

This was done before the last Kandyan Chieftains had signed the treaty, thus violating the law. From amidst the spectators who watched this drama stepped out a Buddhist monk, the Ven Wariyapola Sumangala, of the Asgiri fraternity. Fortified with confidence, fortitude, self-respect and patriotism, he approached the English General to question, 'Who gave you

the permission to hoist your flag here-you have no right to do so YET?' Next he pulled down the Union Jack, trampled it and hoisted the Lion Flag in its place and stated that the treaty had not yet been signed." (146.p.07)

Monk Sumangala was eulogized as a hero and the nation pays tribute to him by placing his statue in front of the Tooth Relic Temple at Kandy.

Fig.5.8 Image of Ven Wariyapola Sumangala

In the legend of Vijaya, Mahavamsa chose the "LION" character, perhaps to incorporate an element of folklore for inspiring and entertaining the readers. Such Beauty and the Beast stories are quite popular in different cultures the world over. Inspite of the mystical style, such legends do, at times, possess discernible history. Here, Mahavamsa endorses that Vijaya's forefathers, a royal family, were patrons of early Buddhist tradition, worshiping the LION imagery as the aniconic representation of the Lord.

EARLY BUDDHISM AND LION WORSHIP IN ODISHA

On the basis of recent archaeological findings, scholars are of the view that Buddhism spread in Odisha (Kalinga) during the lifetime of the Buddha. 'It is believed that Lord Buddha declared Kalinga as one of the twelve places where the attainment of perfection could be achieved. It was one of the four great places possessing inexhaustible treasures of precious substance.' (17.p.21) Dr. Debala Mitra, 1981, wrote: 'It appears that the religion found a footing in Odisha even during the lifetime of the Buddha. From the major rock-edict No. XIII of the Maurya emperor Asoka (273-36 B.C.), it is apparent that there were *sramaras* (Buddhist monks) along with other sects in Kalinga when the emperor invaded this country.' (76.p.01)

The excavations at Dhauli, Kayama, Lalitagiri and Langudi provide enough grounds to support the practice of early tenets of Buddhism in Odisha. The elephant emerging from a large rock near the Asokan edict at Dhauli and the free standing figure of elephant at Kayama are the objet d'art of the Hinayana school. These sculptures belonging to third – second century B.C. are symbolic representation of Lord Buddha; a custom observed in Theravada sect.

Fig.5.9 Elephant at Kayama

The rock-cut caves found in the hills of Deuli, Tarapur, Kayama and Olasuni are the testaments of pre-monastic movement that flourished in this part of Odisha. The Maha-stupa at Langudi and corporeal relic caskets found in Lalitagiri are the vestiges of early Buddhist period.

Fig.5.10 Rock-cut Caves (Tarapur & Olasuni)

The Bhadrak inscription of Maharaja Gana, of third century A.D. points to the existence of large monastic establishments in this part of Odisha. In March, 1951 an inscribed stone was discovered in the courtyard of Bhadrakali temple, situated on the outskirts of Bhadrak town. The epigraph has been deciphered by D. C. Sircar and published in Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXIX. The three lines writing in Prakrit language have been assigned to the third century A.D. on paleographic grounds. The inscription reads:

> In the 8th regnal year of the illustrious Maharaja Sri Gana, a person named Mulajapa presented three images (idols) to a religious establishment along with 80 measures of land. The land was apportioned in a locality called *Panida* and was accepted by *Mahakulapati-arya* Agnisarman. (32.XXIX.p.174)

Padmashree Dr. Satyanarayana Rajguru, on re-examining the original inscription, is of the opinion that '*Mahakulapati-arya Agnisarman*' as read by D. C. Sircar, should be read as '*Mahakulapati Arya Sangha Sramanam*'. He suggests that Maharaja

Sri Gana, the king of North Tosali (Utkala) was a Buddhist. It seems that Buddhism was predominant in north Odisha by third century A.D. (68.p.192) The expression "Mahakulapati" indicates that the establishment was running a university with thousands of pupils.

Fig.5.11 Bhadrakali Temple

The third century Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nagarjunikonda refer to Ceylonese (Sri Lankan) monks preaching Buddhism in north Odisha, then known as Tosali. (32.XX.p.07) Evidently these missionaries were preaching the canons of Theravada sect that was developed in Sri Lanka.

In Odisha, both Hinayana and Mahayana schools existed side by side for a long period. A notice of Ratnagiri at its early stage is recorded by Taranatha: "Now, near the coast of the ocean, on the top of a hill in the country of Odivisa in the east, king Buddhapaksa, in the latter part of his life, built a temple called Ratnagiri. He prepared three copies of each of the scriptural works of the Mahayana and Hinayana and kept these in the temple. He established there eight great centers for the doctrine and maintained five hundred monks." (40.p.03)

During later years, the preponderance of Mahayana sect and growth of Vajrayana had encouraged wide-ranging

sculptural extravaganza throughout the state. Superbly carved iconic images of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Avalokitesvara, Vajrapani, Maitreya, Manjusri, Tara, Bhrikuti, Chunda, and other deities, found scattered in the ruins of monastic establishments have overshadowed the Hinayana and Theravada tradition of Odisha. However, sporadic evidences of aniconism as practised by these sects have been reported from certain places. Besides the elephants of Dhauli and Kayama, incidence of LION being venerated as symbol of the Buddha has been noticed, particularly in pockets of Jajpur and Bhadrak district.

The Buddhist heritage site at Udayagiri, situated in close proximity to Ratnagiri of Jajpur district, has two monastic establishments; one of which was named as *'Sri Sinhaprastha Mahavihara'*. 'Udayagiri or "Sunrise Hill", which forms the easternmost peak of the *Assia* range of the Eastern Ghats, has two arms, one extending to the northeast and the other to the southeast. According to a local tradition the foot of this hill was at one time washed by the sea.' (84.p.01)

The inscriptions on the terracotta sealing unearthed from the site reveal the existence of two different monastic establishments, one on each of the arms of the hill. The monastery in the northeast part was named '*Sri Madhavapura Mahavihara*' and the other in southeast half of the valley: *Sri Sinhaprastha Mahavihara*. During the excavation of this part of the valley, from 1997 to 2000 A.D., a number of lion figures were discovered, some of which are arranged in the southern arm of the *chaitya*-complex.

This celebrated Buddhist settlement flourished from pre-Christian era up to twelfth century A.D. 'The date of the Chaitya stupa complex could be assigned to the beginning of the Christian era. Recovery of a khondalite relic casket inscribed

in Brahmi characters of first century A.D., bearing the name of the donor and the Puri-Kushana imitation copper coins of 3rd century A.D. suggests the early origin of the complex.' (84.p.11)

Fig.5.12 Chaitya stupa complex at Udayagiri – 2

The site affording a lush green surrounding, fertile land, navigable river system and land route was chosen not only for its secluded location for practicing Buddha's tenets, study and composition of scriptures but also attracted devotees from nearby villages, pilgrims, besides caravans and common folk.' (84.p.05) Large monasteries, maha-stupa, chaityagrihas, brick stupas, enlarged stone stupas, seals, sealings, imagery, inscriptions and a 70 m long pathway laid out with flagstones leading towards river Birupa amply testify that this place was held in high reverence by the followers of Buddhism and the common folk. (84.p.14)

Discovery of numerous lion images and the name *Sri Sinhaprastha* make obvious that the establishment was occupied by the Theravada sect.

Another illustrative evidence of LION worship is met with in the twin villages of Chhatrapada – 756129 and Narendrapur of Tihidi Tahsil of Bhadrak district. There are many small Siva

temples in both these villages built by individual households. The inhabitants inform that whenever they excavate the ground, either for house construction, tanks or for sinking wells, they get cylindrical carved stone pieces, which they consider as the emergence of Lord Siva in shape of the "Linga". They consecrate the Linga obtained from beneath the soil, either by constructing a small temple or even in the open ground and worship it regularly. The intriguing peculiarity of these temples is that instead of the idol of Nandi/Brushava as the carrier (*Bahana*) of Lord Siva, a figure of 'Lion' has been placed outside facing the Linga. These stone carved lions were also obtained from underground while digging the earth. The villagers with their innocent faith have never questioned the oddity of lions emerging with Lingas instead of bull (Brushava). Rather they believe that Goddess Parvati, the consort of Lord Siva, might have asked her *bahana* (carrier), the Lion, to be there with Siva for certain reason.

However, on close examination it is observed that these Lingas have some sort of similarity with the votive stupas.

Fig.5.13 Lingas consecrated in the Temples

The stepped design and carvings on the body gives an impression of the archetypes of monolithic stupas found elsewhere in Buddhist establishments. Early Buddhism had the tradition of donating 'Votive Stupas' by devotees visiting a sacred centre, as an expression of their dutiful devotion and with the object of earning religious merit.

The Lion figures found in the temples are of varying degree of craftsmanship. Some of them are weather-beaten over the years. These LION images might have been revered as the aniconic representation of the Buddha.

Fig.5.14 Lion images worshipped in in Siva temples

Discovery of such aniconic antiquities in the locality, particularly the LION images, evidently put forward that the site was a flourishing Buddhist settlement belonging to Theravada tradition.

The twin villages are approachable from 'Gadi', a small bazaar on Bhadrak-Chandbali road at about 32 kms from Bhadrak. From Gadi Bazar one may proceed via Haldia and Totapada to Pattana Mangala (in Google map "Maa Patana Mangala Temple") of Chhatrapada and then walk through the neighboring village Narendrapur.

Apart from the Lion of Buddhist tradition, people of Odisha also worship the deity called Nrusinha or Narasimha, a human-lion incarnation of Lord Vishnu. Inside the famous Jagannatha temple of Puri, there is an ancient Nrusinha temple by the side of the *Mukti mandapa*. According to Madala Panji, this temple was constructed by Somavamsi king Yayati Kesari of Utkala desa. This temple is considered older than the main temple of Lord Jagannatha and has some special rituals. There are many more Nrusinha temples in different parts of the state which substantiate the fusion of Hindu-Buddhist culture in Odisha and reflect the ethnic relationship between the people of Kalinga and Sinhala.

PATTANA THE PORT ON MANTEI

At the entrance to the twin-villages of Chhatrapada and Narendrapur stands an old temple named "Pattana Mangala" ('Maa Patana Mangala Temple' in Google map) and close by there is a large tank with plenty of water throughout the year. According to local convention this part of village Chhatrapada is called "Pattana" since long. Name 'Pattana' usually refers to trade centres associated with ports and harbours.

Fig.5.15 Temple Pattana Mangala

Kautilya in *Arthasastra* has used the term '*panyapattana*' for market towns having connectivity through land or water routes. The word 'Pattana' either suffixed or affixed to village and town names would indicate its commercial origin not just in Odisha but in other parts of the country. In Odisha, Goddess 'Mangala' is regarded as the presiding deity of the sea going vessels. The tradition continues even to-day. During the month of August-September (*Bhadraba*), on Sunday evening, Odia girls worship Goddess Mangala, singing the saga of an ancestral merchant (*Sadhaba*) family engaged in maritime trade. The month-long festivity is known as '*Khudurukuni Osha*'.

Fig.5.16 Goddess Mangala in Khudurukuni Osha

The place name 'Pattana' undoubtedly suggests the existence of a port at the site. The large tank may be the remnant of a reservoir for portable water. 'As the sailors of ships used to require abundant quantities of fresh water for storage, before leaving the ports of their destination, most of the ancient ports had adequate number of wells and tanks to meet the requirement. Such facilities are still in existence in many such port-sites of Odisha.' (28.p.108)

Fig.5.17 The Tank

The Buddhist shrines and monuments found in the locality contribute to the idea of the existence of an ancient harbor. Association of Buddhism with maritime trade has been well established. The Jataka stories are full of references to merchants and their voyage in high seas. Invariably we find ruins of monastic settlements, stupas and chaityas along the trade routes and commercial centres close to the ports. Support for such establishments mostly come from the trader community. Sailors and merchants used to seek blessings of the Lord by donating votive stupas, symbolic images and offer prayer at shrines for the wellbeing of self, family and business before undertaking the journey.

The presiding deity in Pattana temple is known as Lankesvari. Elderly people of the village and nearby areas talk

about the famed lore that links the temple and the tank with maritime trade and Sri Lanka. During my visit to this locality in September, 2013, Sri Muralidhara Barik of village Khadijana-756131, a knowledgeable person and ex-Sarapanch of the area, informed me that the deity of Pattana temple is named Lankesvari and is said to have been brought from Sri Lanka. They have heard from their ancestors that there used to be a port having trade with Sri Lanka and sometime ago commodities of maritime commerce were found beneath the tank. Similar story was repeated by the village elders during my next visit in August, 2017. The pious ladies seating on a platform near the Pattana temple were ever ready to explain us the past glory. When asked why the deity is called Lankesvari, they emphatically asserted: "She is from Lanka". Other villagers, stretching their arm and pointing to the low lying patch, would say that *Boitas* (ships) of *Sadhabas* (merchants) trading with Sinhala used to berth there.

Though presently there is no big river flowing through the village, the locality is connected to Mantei, a navigable river nearby (The name of this river is mentioned as "Matai" in Survey of India Topographical Map and in Google map). Two rivulets run by the side of these villages: the Nua-Nai on the west and Terjoria on the east, which join river Mantei. Nua-Nai, flowing in northerly direction connects Mantei at Baliapal. The name Terjoria originated from the fact that 13 (Tera in Odia) creeks (Jora in Odia) of the delta joins with this rivulet, thus forming a widespread hinterland. Terjoria flowing in easterly direction meets the river Mantei near village Sunaripokhari.

The river Mantei is connected with the sea through the mouth of river Dhamra. Because of its deep draught Mantei was used for purposes of navigation since long. It continued to be a major transport route even during the British period. The

Coast-Canal connecting the Hooghly at Geonkhali and the Mantei at Charbatia (Kabirpur) served as the means of communication from Kolkata to Cuttack. From Charbatia the water route passed about 40 Km through Mantei river up to its confluence at Dhamra. From there, through Brahmani, Kelua, and Birupa the water-course joined Mahanadi to reach Cuttack. This was the major transport route from Kolkata to Cuttack and Puri till the construction of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway connecting Kolkata with Chennai through Cuttack, which became operational in October, 1899.

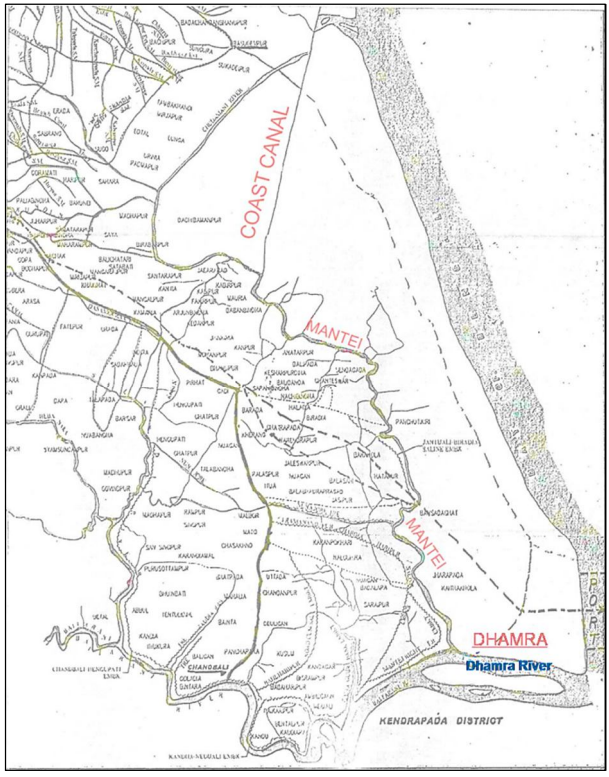


Fig.5.18 Mantei and Coast Canal

The navigational importance of river Mantei has been recorded by L. S. S. O'Malley, in '*Bengal District Gazetteers*: *Balasore*' published in 1907. He wrote:

> 'A new port has formed at Baliapal on the Mantei river; and Chandball has absorbed the trade of the old port of Dhamra, situated 15 miles lower down the river at the confluence of the Mantei.' 'The Mantei, a river which connects with the Coast Canal at Charbatia and thence flows into the Dhamra at its junction with the Baitarani, is a good navigable channel affording communication between the Coast Canal and Chandball, and also with Cuttack. It is a tidal river as far as Ruknadeipur, 8 miles east of Bhadrakh, up to which point it is navigated by numerous country boats carrying goods to and from Chandbali.' (121.p.144-145)

Pattana of Chhatrapada and Narendrapur was an important ancient port on Mantei. Its connectivity with Dhamra River mouth provided great scope for international trade. We do not know when the 14 kilometer wide alluvial tract, which now separates Pattana from the sea, was formed. There are evidences of continuous accretion in this part of the coast pushing the waterline year after year. Maybe the port Pattana was on the sea front that has receded over the years creating the landmass.

In Sri Lanka, there was an ancient sea port with the similar name "Mantai" on its northwest coast which flourished upto twelfth century A.D. In the mainland, Mantai was called in many names such as Manthai, Mahathita, Mathoddam, Montota, Mahagama, Mahathithapattanam, Eailpattanam, and Rajarapuram. It is said that the Mantai was one of the Chief International ports in Sri-Lanka.

'Recent archaeological excavations at Mantai have revealed that the ancient port of Mahatittha continued to be an integral part of the trading network which linked Persian Gulf ports with India and Sri Lanka during the Sassanian period and the

period of Arab ascendancy. Middle Eastern ceramics, which have been dated around the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D., and corresponding Chinese ceramics have been found at Mahatittha.' (144.p.48) Mantai was connected through navigable rivers with the ancient capital cities like Anuradhapura and Pollonnaruva. It was not only a trade centre but also a famous dockyard for constructing ships with wood like Halmilla and Teak.

Sri Lankan ports had always the crucial role to play in the Indian Ocean trade. Its strategic position has the advantage of connecting the east and the west. Mantai in northern Sri Lanka was the port of call for ships from the east coast of India. Infact it was the convenient link between the two Indian coasts. For the ships of Kalinga, Mantai provided an alternate route for Java and Bali, when sailing through Malaysia and Strait of Malacca was unfavourable.

Scholars have commented that Tapassu and Bhallika, the first lay disciples of the Buddha visited Sri Lanka and erected a chaitya to commemorate their visit. It is said that the merchant brothers from Utkala landed in Manthai harbour. Others opine that Princess Hemamala, the daughter of Kalinga King Guhasiva, with her husband prince Danta Kumar, brought the Sacred Tooth Relic to Sri Lanka in the fourth century AD through this port.

The similarity in place name suggests some sort of affiliation between Manthai of Sri Lanka and the Mantei of Odisha. Deity LANKESVARI coming from Sri Lanka to Pattana may not be folklore but a coveted memory retained through generations. The Lion images and Votive stupas emerging from underground in the vicinity are the characteristic features of Theravada culture that was in practice in this part of

Odisha. The merchants coming from Sri Lanka would have donated according to Buddhist tradition these figures as their offering.

SRI LANKA KALINGA ASSOCIATION

Both the literary and epigraphic sources in Sri Lanka recognise the intimate cultural, political, social and commercial relationship between Kalinga and Sinhala since early historical period. As observed by K. M. de Silva, 2004, the Sinhalese kingdom had very close ties with Kalinga in the Odisha region, but surprisingly there is little or no Indian evidence bearing on this. (144.p.89)

The island's strategic location on the trade route had lured the adept seafarers of Kalinga to migrate and settle from prehistoric time. Kalinga was importing elephants, pearls, cinnamon, areca-nuts and conch-shells as major commodities in return of rice and textile products. (28.p.568) Rulers and Chieftains of Kalinga held the Sinhala elephants in high esteem for their size and smartness.

Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the court of Chandragupta Maurya in third century B.C.; while writing on the elephants of Sri Lanka, records:

> "These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct expressly for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of the Kalingai (Kalinga)." (33.p.42)

Captain Thomas Bowery, while at Balasore in 1674, had also commented on the Sri Lankan species thus:

> "The elephants of Ceylon are best esteemed of here and all Hindostan over; they are generally large and well set, of a most hardy constitution, and endowed with more sense and reason than those of Tenasserim (former name of a region in Myanmar), Queda (Kedah a state of Malaysia) or Syam (formerly the name of Thailand)." (153.p.180)

Elephant import from Sri Lanka for the native princes of Odisha continued till late seventeenth century. Streynsham Master, the Agent of the English at Fort St. George and his associates found on 9th September 1679 two ships that came from Jaffnapatam unloading elephants at Balasore port of Odisha. (08.p.161)

The warm diplomatic connection of Kalinga King Guhasiva with his contemporary made it possible for transfer of Sacred Tooth Relic to Sri Lanka in fourth century A.D. It became the symbol of sovereignty of the island, hence protected by every ruler and sought by every aspirant of sovereignty throughout history. Today, it is considered to be the most venerated relic in the Buddhist world. (150.p.70) After Guhasiva, frequent external aggressions caused Kalinga to split to smaller territories ruled by separate rulers. The southernmost portion retained the name Kalinga, whereas the other segments adopted different names chosen by ruling dynasties. However, externally, each of these kingdoms was known as the generic name Kalinga. In seventh century A.D., the northern portion was called Odra or Utkala where the royalty as well as the bulk of the population professed Buddhism. It is reported that Agrabodhi II (A.D.592-602), the Buddhist king of this region being persecuted by Sasanka, the king of Gauda, preferred to seek asylum in Sri Lanka. 'In Lanka, resolving to lead the life of a recluse, he joined monkhood under the great priest Jothipala. He was accompanied by his queen and chief minister, who, too, followed his example. The Queen was affectionately ministered

by Queen Datha at Ratana Convent, and the minister settled in Vettavasa Vihara.' (22.p.94) 'Agrabodhi's escape to Sri Lanka and acceptance by the king and queen not only provide a glimpse of good political relation that existed between the two widely separated kingdoms but also the maritime link between Kalinga and Sri Lanka.' (28.p.560)

The evidences of the medieval period speak of more intimate matrimonial relationship between the royal families of two nations. Members of Kalinga royal families were also invited by Sri Lankan court to be crowned as the king of Lanka. Certainly the princess and prince must have come from Kalinga with their entourage consisting of hundreds of persons who have settled in the island. They have adopted the native culture and in due course merged with the Sinhalese.

In the tenth century A.D., a Sri Lankan king, known as Mahinda-IV had married a princess from Kalinga and her sons had succeeded his father to the throne. Mahinda-V, the last king to rule from Anuradhapura, claimed in his only inscription that he was a scion of 'the Kalinga Royal family'. As he too was a son of Mahinda-IV, his right to be called 'a member of Kalinga Royal family', was probably through his mother, who was a princess from Kalinga. During the rule of Mahinda-V, the island was attacked by the Cholas. The king was defeated and sent to the Chola-court in India as a prisoner. Since then, the Cholas occupied a major portion of the island and continued to ravage the country again and again till 1070 A.D. (28.p.561)

Relationship with Kalinga was renewed by king Vijayabahu-I in 11th century A.D. Born in a royal family of southern Sri Lanka, by the name prince Kitti, he took the vow to unite his country and oust the Chola power. At the age of 16 in 1055 A.D., he became the king of Ruhuna, a principality in

southern part of the country and assumed the name Vijayabahu as the coronation sobriquets (*Abhisekanama*). Pursuing rigorous campaign, he finally succeeded in terminating the Chola rule over Sri Lanka in 1070 A.D. After crushing the internal insurgences, he was crowned as the king of Sinhala in 1073 A.D. at Anuradhapura. Later he shifted the capital to Polonnaruva and named the palace complex as Vijayabahupura.

Ambagamuva Rock-Inscription records that the king brought fame and prosperity to Lanka and contributed to the cause of Buddhism. (147.II.p.216) He built the Temple of the Tooth in the Sacred Quadrangle at Polonnaruva which is known as Atadage.

This was a two storied building and in the upper floor were deposited the Sacred Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic.

Fig.5.19 Atadage, Tooth Relic Temple by Vijayabahu-I

Near the building is an inscription which says that the protection of the Sacred Tooth Relic had been entrusted to the Velaikkara soldiers who were the king's private guards.

Fig.5.20 Velikkara Inscription near Atadage

Vijayabahu strengthened diplomatic ties with Kalinga, then expanding as an imperial power under the rising Ganga dynasty. 'He married Triloka Sundari of Kalinga, a princess of great beauty and of delicate form. The queen bore him five daughters – Subhaddha, Summitta, Lokanatha, Ratanavali, and Rupavati – and one son, Vikkramabahu.' (22.p.140) 'Along with Triloka Sundari, three of her kinsmen known as Madhukannava, Bhimaraj and Balakkara came from Kalinga to join the king's court.' (28.p.561)

Vikramabahu-I, the only son of Vijayabahu from the Kalinga princess, ascended the throne in 1111 A.D. He also preferred to marry a princess called Sundari from Kalinga royal family, who later became the Chief Queen, Her Majesty Sundara-Mahadevi. The Dimbula-Gala Mara-Vidiye Rock-Inscription informs that this queen caused construction of a road between the Sanda-maha-lena (the great Moon-cave) and Hiru-maha-lena (the great Sun-cave) at Dumbulagala, to ease movement of devotees on steep hill slope. At the cave she

established statues, dagabas, and great *bodhi*-trees and named it as Kalinga-lena in honour of her Kalinga nationality. Her son Gajabahu succeeded to the throne after his father in 1132 A.D. (147.II.p.196)

Parakramabahu-I, the grandson of Queen Triloka Sundari from her daughter's line, was crowned as the King of Sri Lanka in 1153 A.D. He was a great ruler and a warrior, with an extraordinary energy and discernment. He established peace and harmony in the country. His glory stood up in the Sri Lankan history like an isolated peak. His power and fame spread not only throughout the island but also in foreign countries. (145.p.17) He reconstructed many water reservoirs and canal systems that revolutionised the farm productivity. By renovating and connecting a series of tanks such as Thopawewa, Eramuduwewa (Katuwewa), Dumbutuluwewa, Kalahagala wewa and Bu wewa; he created the largest man-made reservoir, known as Parakramasamudra.

Fig.5.21 Parakramasamudra or the Sea of Parakrama

There were seven sluices and eleven canals through which water was released from the Parakramasamudra both for irrigation and

navigation. He built a wintry palace on an islet in Thopawewa reservoir.

During his rule 'Polonnaruva was rebuilt into an excellent city. He laid down new roads, constructed enormous buildings, ponds and beautiful gardens, defensive moats, high chain of walls, watch towers, etc.' (145.p.18) A seven storied majestic royal palace with thousand chambers was built and named 'Vijayanta Prasada' after the palace name of God's King, Indra (Sakra). The remains of three stories with their massive walls going up to 9 meters high can be seen today. Around the palace, ruins of many buildings are seen which may have been used as places for rituals and entertainment, and as rooms for palace aids and storage.

Fig.5.22 Ruins of the Palace of King Parakramabahu

Within the island, he constructed many magnificent buildings, established alms halls, set up hospitals and other social welfare units. 'The shrines, stupas, and dagabas that were destroyed by nonbelievers were restored. He also built Image houses such as Lankathilake, Thivanka and Thuparama.' (145.p.19)

The Thivanka Image house has an impressive layout. Inside, it has paintings on the stories of Buddha's previous births and the images depicting a large host of "devas" (Gods) entreating Buddha to be born in human world. The influences of Hindu and Mahayana culture can be seen at Tivanka to a great extent. The outside walls of the building have figures of dwarfs, gods, deities, niganta bodhisattva, swans, lions and also lotus designs. (145.p.69)

Fig.5.23 Thivanka Image House, Polonnaruva

The Gal-Vihara Rock Inscription at Polonnaruva mentions that Parakramabahu-I unified and purified the Buddha Sasana in the country. He brought about a rapprochement of the three fraternities and a coalition of them into one single *nikaya*. Engaging a community of Theras, headed by the great Thera Maha Kassapa, the King caused to formulate the code of disciplinary injunctions for the guidance of monks. (147.II.p.276) He built many impressive monasteries bestowed with affluence for their sustenance. One such monastery was the Uttararama (North Park) of Polonnaruva, now popularly called Gal-vihara. (147.II.p.256) The site is famed for its colossal rock-cut statues of the Buddha in different postures exquisitely carved on a gigantic rock face in a serene natural ambience.

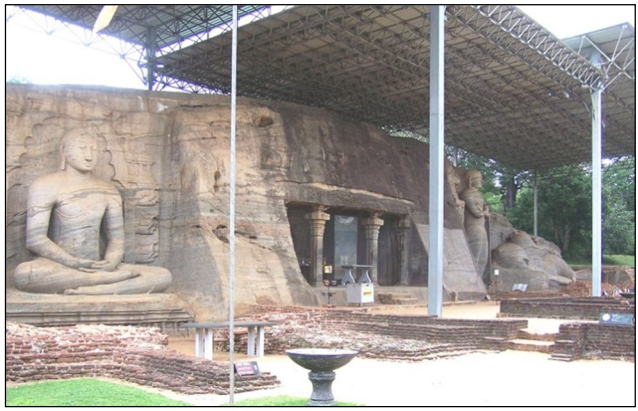


Fig.5.24 Gal Vihar

Parakramabahu-I maintained extensive trade relations with foreign countries and most importantly with Kalinga. The navigational channel of his period which connected the hinterland with country's longest river Mahaweli Ganga was named "Kalinga Ela". 'It is believed that Kalinga Ela was a creation of king Parakramabahu. The name "Kalinga" would have been given to this channel due to strong maritime links with that nation. (145.p.20) Kalinga Ela apparently started about 1km upstream of the riverine island named "Kalinga Nuwara" in Mahweli Ganga. Though most part of this grand navigational channel has been obliterated, traces of it do survive here and there. Some 2 km stretch of the channel is visible within the Wasgomuwa National Park. Attempts have been made to survey and map the century old channel that once contributed to the country's economic prosperity. A report on its present status has been published by Kashyapa A. S. Yapa, 2006 at http://kyapa.tripod.com/kalinga/kalingaela.htm#top.

IUCN Directory of South Asian Protected Areas records both Kalinga Ela and Kalinga Newara as sites of cultural

heritage in the Wasgomuwa National Park of Sri Lanka. (143.p.269)

Fig.5.25 Kalinga Canal

The island "Kalinga Nuwara" was a port and a great ship-building centre during the medieval period. R.L. Brorier, 1965 reports the evidences of past civilisation in the island. Many traces of ruined structures, masses of brickbats on the surface and stumps of stone pillars indicate that the entire island was covered by buildings.

The carved stone *makara* balustrades flanking the entrances to buildings, the foundations of large halls, low brick-walled enclosures and the traces of a roadway can also be seen. He further writes:

> 'Kalinga Nuwara may well be the historical site where in medieval times the ceremony of the ordination of monks was held. A chapter in the *Mahavamsa*, which we are told was "composed equally for the delight and amazement of good men," refers to one such ordination in the 13th century, when Vijaya Bahu (Kalinga Vijayabahu, whose coronation name was Sahasa Malla) convened the whole of the Buddhist clergy to a "treat" of ordination, to do which he sent a prince and "caused him to build

> many thousands (sic) of beautiful dwelling places for priests and large and lofty halls...and sent an invitation by messenger to all parts saying, lo! we are about to hold a feast of Ordination. Now, therefore, such monks as are well disposed towards us – be they great elders, middle elders, or juniors – let them, even all of them, endeavour to come to Sahassatittha." (154.p.68)

The 'Sahassatittha', a sacred site of pilgrimage might have been named after Sahasa Malla, who also came from Sinhapura of Kalinga to be crowned as the King of Sri Lanka in early 13th century.

Parakramabahu-I was succeeded by Vijayabahu-II in 1186 A.D. The inscription of this King informs that he came from Sinhapura of Kalinga on invitation of the Lord of Lanka. Parakramabahu was childless. He sent for his sister's son from Kalinga to settle the position of a successor, brought him up and prepared him for his future role as the king of Sri Lanka.

'Vijayabahu was a devout Buddhist, endowed with great tenderness of heart and purity. He always preserved a gentle and cheerful disposition. He also showed himself to be a man possessed of great energy and strength of character. He was a man of considerable literary attainments and a poet of great renown. Most histories name him Pandita Vijayabahu. The code of law in accordance with which justice was administered in Lanka during this reign was that of Manu.' (22.p.174)

The *Mahavamsa* speaks of him both as a renowned poet of great merit and as a just and benevolent ruler deeply attached to the Buddhist religion. He is said to have written with his own hand a letter in Pali to the Burmese king of Arimaddana and, thus, established friendly intercourse with that monarch. (147.II.p.181)

Unfortunately, he was not destined to occupy the throne for longer than a year, having been treacherously murdered at

the instance of a friend named Mahinda. (22.p.174) However, the unworthy Mahinda could not occupy the throne for more than five days. He was put to death by Nissanka Malla the great, who had also come from Sinhapura of Kalinga at the invitation of Parakramabahu and was in the office of sub-king during the reign of Vijaya Bahu II.

King Nissanka Malla ascended the throne with the unanimous approval of the chiefs of Lanka in 1187 A.D. (22.p.175) In his inscriptions he is honoured with long epithets such as **'Sri Sanghabodhi Parakrama-Bahu Viraraja Kirti-Nissanka-Malla Apratimalla Simhapuresvara Lankesvara Kalinga Parakrama-Bahu Cakravartin'** and is admired as the illustrious king, distinguished by the possession of a multitude of virtues, liberality, truthfulness, heroism, and the like. He repeatedly mentioned that he was born in Sinhapura of Kalinga in the legendary dynasty of King Vijaya, the founder of Sinhala race. He married the princess of Kalinga; 'named as the queen Kalinga Subhadra Mahadevi and Gangavamsa Kalyan, who, as Kalyanavati, held the scep'tre of Sri Lanka for six years from 1202 to 1208 A.D.' (147.I.p.124)

The Slab-Inscription at the North-Gate of the Citadel and the Gal-Pota mention that Nissanka Malla named the area of his residential complex as ***Kalinga-Raja-Pura*** (The Kalinga Royal City) in Polonnaruva, then known as Pulastipura. (147.II.p.163)

He named a patch of recreational forest as ***Kalinga Vana***. The writings on a square shaped granite in Topa-vava quadrangle of Polonnaruva records that King *Nissanka-Malla* used to sit on it, whenever he watched the dramatic and musical entertainments which were held in the *Kalinga Vana* after his return from his Ceylon tours and his Indian campaign. The inscription is titled as 'Polonnaruva Kalinga Forest Gal-Asana Inscription'. (147.II.p.125)

The Hata-Da-Ge Vestibule Wall-Inscription reports that Nissanka Malla established a park near his palace complex and named it as *Kalingodyana* (Kalinga Park). The writer of the epigraph compares this park with "Veluvana" the garden attached to the monastery presented by king Bimbisara to Gautama Buddha. (147.II.p.95) A square shaped stone now placed between the ruins of the 'Council Chamber' and 'Audience Hall' of Nissanka Malla records that His Majesty used to occupy this seat for the purpose of watching artistic performances, such as dancing, singing, etc. orginised in the Kalinga Park. (147.II.p.134) This stone-seat is titled as 'Kalinga Park Gal-Asana'.

Fig.5.26 Kalinga Park Gal-Asana Inscription

Fig.5.27 Council Chamber of Nissanka Malla

Fig. 5.28 Audience Hall of Nissanka Malla

Fig.5.29 The King's Lion-seat in the Council Chamber

PHILANTHROPIC ACTS OF NISSANKA MALLA

The inscriptions and the remains of magnificent monuments built by King Nissanka Malla provide a great deal of historical information of that period. On his accession to the sovereignty, he not only crushed the power struggle but did everything he could to pacify the unrest prevailing in the country. 'After Parakramabahu-I the only Polonnaruva king to rule over the whole island was Nissanka Malla, the first of the Kalinga rulers, who gave the country a brief decade of order and stability.'

(144.p.84) He promoted the welfare of the State as well as strengthened the religious establishments. He did his best to establish a bond between the land, the race and the Buddhist faith. All his efforts were intended 'to dispel the fear of poverty, fear of robbery, and fear of sedition, and bring happiness to all the inhabitants of the Island.' (147.II.p.81) In order to have firsthand knowledge of people, he toured round Lanka, thoroughly inspecting villages, market-towns, capital cities, and other localities of note as well as those places difficult of access either on account of water, marshes, forests or mountains. (147.II.p.95) During tours he used to hold durbars of ministers and other civil and military officials, including even municipal councillors to redress the grievances and do much to safeguard the lives and property of the people. (147.I.p.126)

The country registered a tremendous growth in the fields of construction, sculpture, culture and economy. Nissanka Malla took steps to repair the reservoirs and the irrigation network. Streamlining the revenue administration, he restored permanent grants and inheritances of land to their rightful heirs, fixed land revenue according to the class of land and enacted a law to prevent collection of excessive taxes. Those inhabitants of Lanka who had become impoverished by the payment of inordinate taxes were exempted from payment of land revenue for five years.

He implemented innovative measures for poverty alleviation. With the pronouncement that *"may all live happily in my time without want*" he organised *Tulabhara* for annual donations of wealth to the poor. 'Wearing the crown and other royal insignia, together with his chief queen *Kalinga Subhadra Mahadevi and Gangavamsa Kalyana Mahadevi*, as well as his son the sub-king *Virabahu* and daughter, the princess *Sarvanga Sundari*, His Majesty used to mount the scale-pan and give away wealth, equal

in weight to the five royal personages, to the helpless and the distressed – such as monks, brahmans, the blind, the crippled, dwarfs, and hunchbacks, who came from various quarters.' (147.II.p.118)

The lines 20-24 of the Gal-Pota inscription Part-B inform that the King caused to build Almshouses at many places in his own country as well as in other lands. He furnished these houses with various objects as 'wish-conferring trees' (The *Kalpa-Brukshya*) and held distribution of alms in abundance. For the purpose of witnessing the great rejoicings of the deprived who had received alms, He erected the pavilion called *Nissanka-dana-mandapaya* to watch the deprived who received the alms. (147.II.p.120)

He advocated a unique scheme to prevent burglary in the country. His inscription at Ruvanvali-Dagaba, Anuradhapura records:

> 'The benevolent King observed that many persons, oppressed by the excessive and illegal punishments inflicted on them and thereby impoverished, are eking out an existence by robbery. These men committed robberies, even at the risk of their lives, through their desire for wealth. He bestowed on them gifts of gold, silver, money, pearls, precious stones, clothes, ornaments, lands and cattle etc. In fact whatever kind of wealth each one desired was provided to make them desist from stealing. Desiring that what he had given should not only be maintained but also be increased, he graciously remitted taxes for several years. (147.p.II.81)

The contribution of King Nissanka Malla to the architectural splendours of Sri Lanka is unforgettable and awe-inspiring. A number of monuments belonging to his period have been discovered in various parts of the country. The remains of some of the spectacular sculptures can be seen in and around the city of Polonnaruva. The Sathmahal Prasada,

Hetadage, Vatadage, and Nissanka Latha Mandapa, located inside the Great Sacred Quadrangle, are attributed to Nissanka Malla's reign.

The seven storied edifice, immediately to the right of the entrance of the sacred quadrangle, is known as Sathmahal Prasada. It is said that Cambodian architectural features can be seen in this monument. Nissanka Malla had established friendly diplomatic relationship with Cambodia and had Cambodian soldiers in his army. Some suggest that the Prasada was built for the purpose of religious activities of Cambodian soldiers. (145.p.53)

Fig.5.30 Sathmahal Prasada

There is a large circular monument known as Vatadage to the left of the entrance. Four seated Buddha statues have been placed in cardinal directions, with their backs to the dagaba (shrine), facing four entrances. Four small shrines are there behind four Buddha statues. A carved stone screen protects

these statues. Various members of this remarkable monument display lavish sculptural ornamentations. (145.p.33)

Fig.5.31 Vatadage

Opposite to Vatadage, on the other side of the road, stands the remnant of a shrine built by Nissanka Malla to house the sacred Tooth Relic. Known as Hetadage, the monument consists of square inner hall, an entrance porch and a flight of steps leading to the upper storey.

Fig.5.32 Hetadage

There are three standing Buddha statues in the lower storey. The structure was surrounded by solid stone walls up to the roof. (145.p.35)

The elaborate sculptural design of *Nissanka-Latha-Mandapa* is unique and praiseworthy. The lotus stalk shaped stone pillars with capitals as the opening flower buds represent the artistic marvel of craftsmanship. It is here that, an inscription confirms, the King Nissankamalla listened to Pirith, the recital of the Buddhist scriptures. In the centre is a small stone-cut stupa, having truncated top perhaps to receive the relic casket during Pirith chanting. This was probably covered with a roof.

Fig.5.33 Nissanka-Latha-Mandapa

Fig.5.34 Lotus stalk-shaped pillar

Rankoth Vehera, the gigantic stupa of Polonnaruva, built as a replica of magnificent Ruvanveli dagaba of Anuradhapura, is yet another architectural grandeur of Nissanka Malla. This is one of the most revered stupas in Polonnaruwa. The structure is made entirely of brick and has a base with diameter of 550 feet (170 m) and a height of 108 feet (33 m). However, the original shape of the stupa, particularly its upper portion, has been changed during renovation work in later period. It is estimated that the original height of Rankoth Vehera was nearly 200 feet (61 m). The stone inscription placed in the middle of the path leading to the entrance of the stupa depicts King Nissanka Malla, sitting at this very spot and observing the construction of the dagaba.

Fig.5.35 Rankoth Vehera

Fig.5.36 Gal-Asana Inscription

Some of the inscriptions mention his successful overseas expeditions. In order to commemorate his glorious campaigns in South India, he conducted *tulabhara* ceremony at Ramesvara, bestowed boundless wealth on inhabitants and erected pillars of victory. He caused a temple to be built bearing the name *Nissankesvara*. (147.II.p.120)

As a devout Buddhist, he took many benevolent actions to promote and purify the Buddha Sasana. In the 'Hatadage Portico Slab-Inscription', the King proclaims:

> "Hail ! This Dharma, which gives happiness and which alone deserves to be honoured in the whole world, should always be preserved. Vira-Nissanka-Malla makes this appeal over and over again to the rulers of the earth in the name of their good fame." (147.II.p.89)

In last few lines, with a request to future kings to protect the Dharma, he reiterates:

> "It is indeed the Dharma that protects this whole world. So thinking, one should earnestly secure the welfare of both the worlds. Let it be thus understood by future kings that these are the virtuous sentiments of King *Kalinga-Lankendra-Nissanka*." (147.II.p.90)

Animal killing was forbidden in and around the city, fishing was prohibited in twelve great reservoirs, bird catching was discouraged by declaring awards for those who volunteer to conserve the wildlife.

He undertook pilgrimages to sacred places and did much to restore the edifices of those places. 'To the venerated Tooth-relic and the Bowl-relic he offered his own son, the sub-king Virabahu and his daughter Sarvanga Sundari; and for the purpose of redeeming them he caused a dagaba of solid gold to be made. (147.II.p.90)

The prosperity of medieval Sri Lanka came to a halt soon after the death of Nissanka Malla. How he died is not yet known, but what followed is a pathetic struggle and bloodshed by the aspirants to the throne. Nissanka's son Virabahu-II was murdered after being crowned for only one night and his younger brother Vikramabahu-III, who ruled for nearly three months, was killed by a relative named Chodaganga. Continuous dissension amongst the opposing factions made the crown unstable. After about nine months of Chodaganga rule, Lilavati, the queen of Parakramabahu-I was placed on the throne by a faction led by General Kitti, the Army Chief.

Perhaps Kitti's rule through Lilavati was not altogether popular. He himself was not satisfied with her. His co-ministers preferred a prince of the Kalinga dynasty to reign over them. He, therefore, deposed Lilavati after she had reigned about three years (1197-1200 A. D.). He then invited Sahasa Malla, half-brother of King Nissanka Malla, over from Sinhapura of Kalinga, and installed him on the throne on Wednesday, August 23, 1200 A.D. (147.I.p.177)

Sahasa Malla ruled for only two years, and thereafter Kalyanavati, the queen of Nissanka Malla was raised to the throne by a General called Ayasmanta. (147.I.p.178) Her reign continued for 6 years and with that the Kalinga royalty in the seats of power in Sri Lanka came to an end.

MAGHA, NOT FROM KALINGA

The prolonged crisis in the Sri Lankan polity naturally attracted the South Indian forces to establish their authority on the governance of the island. At this stage a South Indian adventurer called Magha invaded the country with a large army of 24,000 Tamil and Malayali soldiers.

The ferocity, cruelty, and barbarism of these invaders were such as Lanka had never before experienced, in spite of the numerous wars waged on her soil. Of them the *Mahmvansa* says:

> 'They robbed the inhabitants of their garments and their jewels and everything that they had and violated the chastity of families. They cut off the hands and feet of people and despoiled their dwellings. Their oxen, buffaloes, and other animals they carried off forcibly. The rich men they tied up with cords and tortured and took possession of all their wealth. They broke down the image-houses, and dagobas, in their search for treasure. They took up their abode in viharas and beat the pious laymen therein. They Hogged children and ill-treated the priests. They compelled the people to carry burdens and made them labour heavily. Many books of great excellence did they loose from the cords that bound them and scatter about the place and otherwise destroy.' (22.p.178)

This Magha is referred to as 'Kalinga Magha' or 'Magha of Kalinga' in Sri Lankan literature. But unfortunately his origin is unknown. Epigraphic sources either in Sri Lanka or in India do not report his link with Kalinga. Rather his ethnicity has given rise to other various theories. Some scholars connect his family to the rulers of Ramanathapuram in Tamil Nadu. He is also identified as the founder of the Jaffna kingdom.

The Kalinga Confused

The "Kalinga", mentioned in the literary and epigraphic sources of Sri Lanka, is generally referred to the ancient Kalinga region in Eastern India, corresponding to present-day Odisha. But of late, Professor Senarat Paranavitana (1896-1972 A.D.), a renowned epigraphist, archaeologist and historian of Sri Lanka, who had earlier himself shared this traditional view, departed from it and proposed that the Kalinga, with which the kings of Ceylon had close relation from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, was not the well-known Kalinga in India, but a region

of that name in Malaysia. He also claimed that while conducting the study on relations between Sri Lanka and Sri Vijaya in the tenth and eleventh centuries, he discovered certain documents in support of this view. However, 'his theory that Kalinga mentioned in Sri Lankan chronicles was in Malaysia' had been subject to widespread criticism since it was first enunciated in 1960. The evidences cited by him were not corroborated by any other source, epigraphical, literary or legendary. (67.p.164)

Recently, Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, 2003, has advanced another theory. According to him 'the Kalinga kings of Polonnaruwa were closely connected to the dynasty of the Kings of Jaffna' (152.p.315) and the 'Kalinga Chakravarti race refer to the Kalinga dynasty ruling in Jaffna and not in Odisha.' (152.p.275) He further suggests that Trilokasunadari, the Kalinga princess who was married to Vijaya Bahu-I was from the Kalinga house of Jaffna. He has not mentioned any historical source in favour of his presumptions.

Such subjective suggestions are contradictory to the contents of epigraphic records of medieval Sri Lanka. The inscriptions which report the Kalinga lineage of the kings and queens also mention the historical geography of that region. The lithic records such as Galpota Slab-Inscription, Hata-da-ge Vestibule Wall-Inscription, Kiri-Vehera Slab Inscription, and others inform that the kings of Sri Lanka had established friendly alliances [*mitra santhana-kota*] with the kings of Indian states namely Gauda, Kalinga, Vengi, Tilinga, Karnata, Gurjara, etc. Professor Paranavitana in his paper '*Two Tamil Pillar Inscriptions from Budumuttava*' published in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III pp. 302-312, wrote that "Vijayabahu I, [who freed this island from the Chola yoke] on his part, contracted alliances with the Western Chalukyas and the Kalingas who were inimical to the Colas and this sort of subdued hostility between the two

countries seems to have lasted till the end of that monarch's reign." (147.III.p.310) The ancient territory of Chalukyas comprised parts of present Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. Kalinga mentioned along with these Indian states need not be searched for in Malaysia or in Jaffna.

Kalinga, the present Odisha, had close contacts with the Island from an unknown point of time in the past. The relationship continued on account of trade, cultural and political reasons for nearly two thousand years.

The Epilogue

Kalinga continued to be a major sovereign power till the sixteenth century A.D. During the reign of the illustrious Ganga dynasty and Suryavamsi Gajapatis, for a period of nearly four hundred years, the boundaries of Kalinga extended from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south and from Amarakantaka in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. There was remarkable development in the field of administration, land settlement, trade and commerce, art, architecture, language and literature. The laudable military conquests of the period include occupation of Vengi (parts of Andhra) and Sumha (parts of Bengal) by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva (1077-1147 A.D.), (89.p.189) and extension of southern boundary up to river Krishna by Anangabhimadeva-III (1211-1238 A.D.) (89.p.196) His son and successor, Narasimhadeva-I (1238-1264 A.D.), successfully campaigned against the Muslim power and annexed southern districts of West Bengal–Medinipur, Howrah and Hooghly into the Ganga Empire. He built the temple of Konark in commemoration of his victory. Kapilendradeva (1435-1468 A.D.), the Suryavamsi monarch of great fame, is considered as the second Kharabela of Kalinga. His empire stretched from the Ganges in the north to Trichinopoly district (Tiruchirappalli) in the south. (04.p.68) To emphasize his extensive empire, he assumed the titles "Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara" that

are used to this day in our almanac and the traditional birth charts of Odias.

The economic prosperity of the then Odisha is reflected in a speech of King Anantavarman Chodagangadeva that has been recorded in 'Madala Panji', the Jagannatha temple chronicle. The abstract translation of the royal discourse by Andrew Stirling, 1825, is as follows:

> "Having been warned in a dream by Parameswara (Sri Jagannatha,) that it was proper he should offer his devotions at Puri, the Raja proceeded to that place in the 12th year of his reign. After performing the usual worship with great pomp and solemnity, he collected about him the princes of his family, vassal lords, and chief officers of state, and held the following discourse:

Hear, Oh Chiefs and Princes, the arrangements which I have established for the management of my empire, the expenses of state, the pay of my armies and religious establishments, and the support of the royal treasury and attend to the counsel which I give you. It is known to you that the Rajas of the Kesari line ruled from the Kansa Bansa River (in Balasore district) on the north, to the Rushikulya river (in Ganjam District) in south, and from the sea on the east to the Dandpat of Bhimnagar in west, from which tract of country they derived a revenue of fifteen lacs of *marhs* of gold. By the grace of Sri Jagannatha, the Princes of the Ganga Vamsa have, after subduing the khetris and bhuniyas (Zemindars), added to the Raj the following extent of country, viz. on the north that lying between the Kans Bans and the Datai Borhi river, South the country from the Rushikulya down to the Dandpat of Rajahmundry (in Andhra Pradesh), and west to the confines of Boudh-Sonepur, from which an increase of revenue of twenty lacs has been obtained; my total gross revenues therefore are thirty-five lacs of *marhs* of gold. Out of this amount I have

assigned stated sums for the payment of the Sawants, (Commanders) Mahawats, and Rawats, (chiefs of horses and elephants), priests, Brahmins, and the worship of the deity. For the maintenance of the Paikas, Shewaks, (vassals or officers) and other servants of the state, lands have been duly set apart. Oh Princes and Chiefs, respect my arrangements, and beware that you never resume the above grants and allowances, lest you become liable to the penalty denounced in the *shastras* against those who take back what has been given. Above all in the management of the country under your charge, be just and merciful to the ryots, and collect revenue from them according to the fixed and established rate. As I have by my own good fortune and exertions accumulated a large treasure, viz. forty lace of *marhs* of gold taken from the countries of the conquered bhuniyas, and jewels to the value of seven lacs eighty-eight thousand *marhs*, it is now my intention to devote a portion to the service of Jagannatha, by building a new temple one hundred cubits high and bestowing a quantity of ornaments and utensils. Let me hear your opinions on this point.

The ministers and courtiers all replied that so good a work could not too soon be taken in hand and that after the sagacity and prudence displayed by his majesty, any advice on their parts must be superfluous. An officer named Paramahans Bajpoi was therefore directed to take the work in hand forthwith, and twelve lacs and fifty thousand *marhs* of gold with jewels to the value of 2, 50,000 were set apart for the purpose." (155.p.271-72)

However, repeated invasions by Mohammedan forces from the north and long years of war with Vijayanagara Empire from the south weakened the military strength of Odisha. The internal strife among the successors in early parts of the sixteenth century undermined the support of vassal chiefs. As

Sterling puts it 'the fall of the Odishan monarchy was further hastened by intestine commotions, disunion amongst the chiefs, and a series of bloody and destructive contests for the supreme dignity.' (155.p.285) Unfortunately, in 1568 A.D., while fighting a war with Sulaiman Karrani, the Muslim Sultan of Bengal, the King of Odisha was treacherously killed by a feudatory chief aspiring the crown. The deceitful aspirant was slain on the very day by the invading general and Odisha passed into the possession of the Afghan ruler of Bengal. The battle was fought at Gohiritikira, a place in Dhamnagar Police Station of Bhadrak district, to the north of river Baitarani. The Senapati tank and Alamchand tank of the village remain the witness to the devastating war.

The loss of sovereignty was followed by a catastrophic ravage: the temples demolished, their treasure looted, records and literature burnt, monuments and statues wrecked to ruins. Sprawling Buddhist establishments were reduced to rubbles. 'Destruction of Konark temple, the desecration of the Puri temple and burning of the images of Lord Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra are ascribed to this disaster.' (89.p.237) The recollection of that harrowing havoc still cause pain in the hearts of the Odia men and women who often remind their offspring of the destruction caused by Kalapahada, a Hindu renegade Muslim general.

In 1576 A.D., Odisha came under the suzerainty of Akbar, the Mughal Emperor of Delhi. Todar Mall settlement in 1582 divided Odisha into five unequally apportioned *Sarkara* (circar) or divisions namely 1) Jaleswara *Sarkar* – extending from river Rupanarayan to river Budhabalanga; 2) Bhadrak *Sarkar* – from river Budhabalanga to river Brahmani; 3) Kataka (Cuttack) *Sarkar* – from river Brahmani up to Chilika lake; 4) Kalinga Dandapata – south of Chilika and 5) Rajahmundry *Sarkar* –

north Andhra. (89.p.242) After the death of Aurangzeb there was disintegration of Mughal Empire. The two southern divisions of Odisha – the Kalinga Dandapata and Rajahmundry *Sarkar* – were occupied by the Muslim authority ruling from Hyderabad and the other three were held by the Marathas. Later the southern portion came under the possession of the East India Company in 1765 A.D., and formed a part of "Northern Circar" under Madras Presidency. The Maratha occupied region – Cuttack, Bhadrak and Jaleswara *Sarkars* – were subjugated by British in 1803 A.D. and administered under Bengal Presidency with its seat in Kolkata. The Sambalpur zone was annexed to British territory in 1849 A.D. and remained with the Central Province till 1905 A.D.

Besides the political and administrative dismemberment, that had longstanding damaging effect, the four hundred years foreign rule was accompanied by periodic plunder, exploitation, coercion and tyranny. It systematically destabilised the state's economy by subverting the artisan based indigenous manufacturing system, forcing unwarranted changes in cropping pattern, disbanding the merchants' league of Kalinga and capturing the international markets that were dependant on Kalinga commodities.

Incursion of external culture through administrative machinery adversely affected the linguistic unity. The dreadful famine of 1866 A.D., mismanaged by the callous administration, wiped out almost one third of the population of the State. For over two years there were terrible sufferings of starvation, irrepressible epidemic and the resultant death. And above all, the physical entity of Kalinga was curtailed while reconstituting Odisha as a separate province by British parliament in 1936 A.D.

It's amazing that Odias have survived such anarchy and atrocities with tolerance and self-esteem that they had displayed 2500 years ago to Asoka Maurya. They still preserve and rejoice to observe their tradition of Kalinga era with unfailing faith in Lord Jagannatha.

JOY JAGANNATHA

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Kalinga on the east coast of India has a unique regional history that dates back to antiquity. Its culture and tradition bear imprint of many civilizations of South-East Asia. In the early historic period the people of Kalinga migrated to Far East and established colonies in island countries of the Indian Ocean. They demonstrated the unprecedented power of non-violence as far back as in the third century B.C. which inspired Emperor Asoka to denounce war and preach peace.

The history and heritage of Kalinga are more talked about than recorded. This book makes an attempt to revisit the glorious history of Kalinga by exploring epigraphic records in India, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. The author has critically analysed the ancient inscriptions, numismatic sources, travel records, sculptures and scriptures to unravel the lesser-known aspects of Kalinga. The outcome is not just exciting but challenging for the scholars to go deeper into the subject.

Bijay Kumar Swain is an Environment and Forestry professional. He served the Odisha Forest Department in various capacities till his superannuation in 2008. His inquisitive mind takes him in search of rare herbs in the wilderness and long-forgotten artefacts in remote historical sites. He makes it a point to visit the spot and examine the details before writing anything about that.

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